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CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVIII, NUMBER 11 NOVEMBER 1987

On the rise 534
Political forecasting is risky business, but California Journal *boldly singles out seven politicians who may lead the state into the 21st Century.* By A.G. Block

On the wane 538
Back in 1982 the Journal *boldly singled out five other politicians. What happened?* By Lisa Steinfeldt and A.G. Block

They also shall rise 540
A brief glance at others predicted to have bright political futures. By A.G. Block

Donnybrook, the sequel 543
For the second time this year, San Francisco is witness to a political brawl — this time, for mayor. By Jerry Roberts

The Capitol press corps 548
A California Journal *survey on the role of the Capitol press corps.* By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

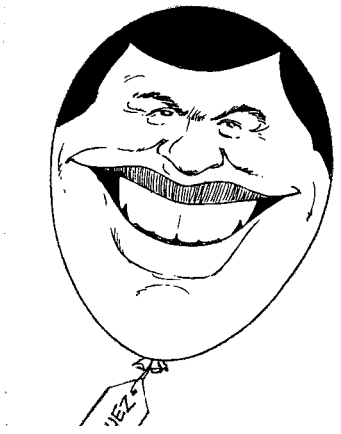
Political writers 550
Sketches on political writers from California's newspapers. By Faith Alchorn

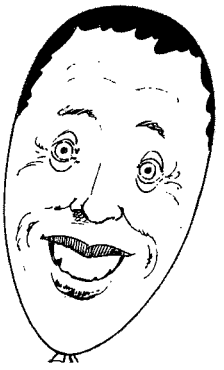
The good, the bad, the in-between 555
Which California newspapers and political reporters are considered the best — and the worst. By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

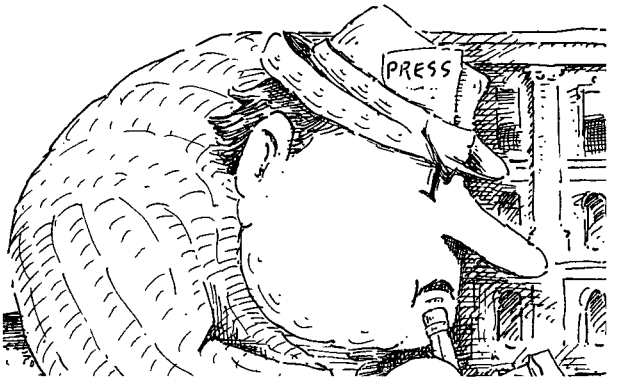
The alternative press 557
A spate of news services covers state government and politics, serving a diverse group of small newspapers and television stations. By Steven A. Capps

Recycling 563
The state's new effort to recycle bottles and cans is off to a fitful start. By James Richardson

Up Front 532
Ballot Front 567
Roll Call 568
Washington Perspective 570







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UP FRONT

Party vegetables. *The California Republican*, an occasional newsletter put out by the GOP, tells us that one of its party loyalists, artichoke farmer Steve Jordan of Santa Barbara, has developed a new breed of choke that he has named for President Reagan. The newsletter reports the new variety is "thornless, has more color and a big heart." We're not sure we want to see this trend continue. Think what a Democratic squash farmer could come up with, not to mention the state's independent nut growers. All in all, an unpalatable trend.

(Kathleen Beasley, Sacramento)

Reverse Darwinism. State Supreme Court Justice Edward Panelli recently suggested that courts adapt their rulings to the television age by writing opinions that can easily be summarized by TV reporters and audiences. Great. Supreme Court opinions geared to the level of dialogue from "Laverne and Shirley."

Let 'em read comics. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on October 5th that the seven-member San Francisco School Board had lavished thousands of dollars on personal percs while local teachers had trouble obtaining basic classroom supplies. Among the more questionable expenses cited by the *Chronicle*: $7000 for a daily messenger service to deliver members' mail to their homes; $5000 worth of scrip good for cab rides, with no record kept of how the scrip was used; $3300 on an answering service for five members; $2560 on catered meals from an upscale restaurant during closed meetings; and over $13,000 on travel to educational conferences. The *Chronicle* also reported that the San Francisco board had cut $10 million from the district's budget this year, costing the jobs of 450 employees.

California's Republicans had a little trouble attracting would-be presidents to their state convention in late September. Since the state's primary election won't be until June, most of the party's prez wannabes found they would be better off spending a weekend in Minnesota or Iowa than in Anaheim. The only one who showed up was Kansas Senator Robert Dole, who was promptly peppered with questions from a bored press corps about why he was there. One reporter noted that Dole's "opponents had chosen to pass up" the convention, while the next was more blunt: "Don't you have anything better to do?" Finally *Orange County Register* political writer Larry Peterson asked the ultimate question: "Are you a chump, or what?" Dole's answer, "It was a slow weekend."

H.L. Richardson, the Legislature's resident bunny blaster, has revealed who he considers the ideal member for his gun-promoting organization, Gun Owners of California. As reported by Stan Gilliam in his October 8th *Sacramento Bee* column, Richardson sent out a recruitment letter for GOC, urging folks to join up and to "please ask a fiend if they will join also."

Speaking of Wild Bill. Once again, Republican Richardson has distinguished himself as the legislator who missed the most floor and committee votes, according to LegiTech, an independent bill-monitoring service. Richardson missed a staggering 87 percent of all his opportunities to vote. The senator has long claimed that his record is so poor because he refuses to give "courtesy" votes to bills that he does not care about, or to vote for the "consent calendar" — a method used in both houses for disposing of several non-controversial bills at once. Of course, Richardson also has the opportunity of actually being present and voting against these measures, but he apparently has more important things to do. By the way, the best record was compiled by first-term Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin, a Union City Democrat who missed only 34 votes, less than 1 percent of her opportunities.

Golden Rule, Board of Equalization style: If you can't say something nice, say something nasty. Recently, Board member Paul Carpenter characterized some board employees as "trogolytes" (prehistoric cave dwellers) who try to squeeze every dollar out of taxpayers. Board member Conway Collis added that board employees' behavior toward taxpayers sends a message that government is out to get them. Carpenter's and Collis' remarks appeared in the *Los Angeles Daily News* and prompted a reply from William Bennett, senior member of the board. Collis, Bennett said, is a "political weasel" who is "consumed by political ambitions." Bennett also criticized both Collis and Carpenter for accepting campaign contributions from corporations that later asked the board to lower their taxes.

Smoke in our eyes department. State Senator Quentin Kopp's office recently sent out a couple of "fact sheets" on a campaign-finance reform initiative that Kopp and two others have sponsored. The first laid out the problems inherent in big-spending campaigns and listed several solutions, one of which seeks to "ease fund-raising pressures by providing qualified candidates with some public matching funds." The second fact sheet boasted that the initiative "prohibits use of tax money in campaigns." Apparently, the first was borrowed, without attribution, from Common Cause, which supports a rival initiative that includes limited public financing.

(Bob Shireman, San Francisco)

Personnel management, Republican style. The California GOP has published a handy, 76-page guidebook which it distributes to aspiring Republican candidates. The booklet, which covers traditional topics like fund-raising techniques and get-out-the-vote tactics, also offers advice on that sticky campaign problem — doing away with a trouble-making volunteer. "Sometimes this can be done by 'donating' their services to some other campaign or headquarters," the handbook suggests.

(S. Scott Forter, Bakersfield)

Junkets here, junkets there. According to a schedule published by Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, the upper house will hold 47 interim hearings from October 5th through the end of the year. Most are scheduled in Sacramento, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay area, or in the chairperson's district. But five of the 47 hearings have been set in resort areas that offer nothing more than a toney place for the chairman, members and staff to spend a few days. Four of these junkets are

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chaired by one lawmaker — state Senator Joe Montoya of La Puente. Montoya, head of the Senate Business and Professions Committee, scheduled three hearings in Palm Springs (October 9th on liability insurance for recreational and amateur sports; and December 7th and 8th on various bills dealing with professions) anc one in Carmel (November 16th on postgraduate training for doctors). One other hearing has been scheduled for Palm Springs — a November 13th affair on automotive parts chaired by Senator Alan Robbins of North Hollywood. (State Senator Robert Presley also has a Palm Springs hearing, but Presley represents the area.)

Boo boo department. In last month's "Ballot Front," we reported that signatures for a parks and wildlife initiative had to be submitted by November 11th to qualify for the June 1988 ballot. The actual date is November 19th, according to the secretary of state's office. Also, our story on city incorporations incorrectly identified the Southern California community of Solana Beach as "Solano" Beach, "a mistake we've come to expect of Northern Californians," says Gregory Dennis, editorial director of the Solana Beach *Citizen*.

You never know who might drop in and need a bureaucrat. So, California now has an official greeter, sort of like Caesar's Las Vegas used to have Joe Louis. This came about after Governor George Deukmejian created an Office of International Visitors.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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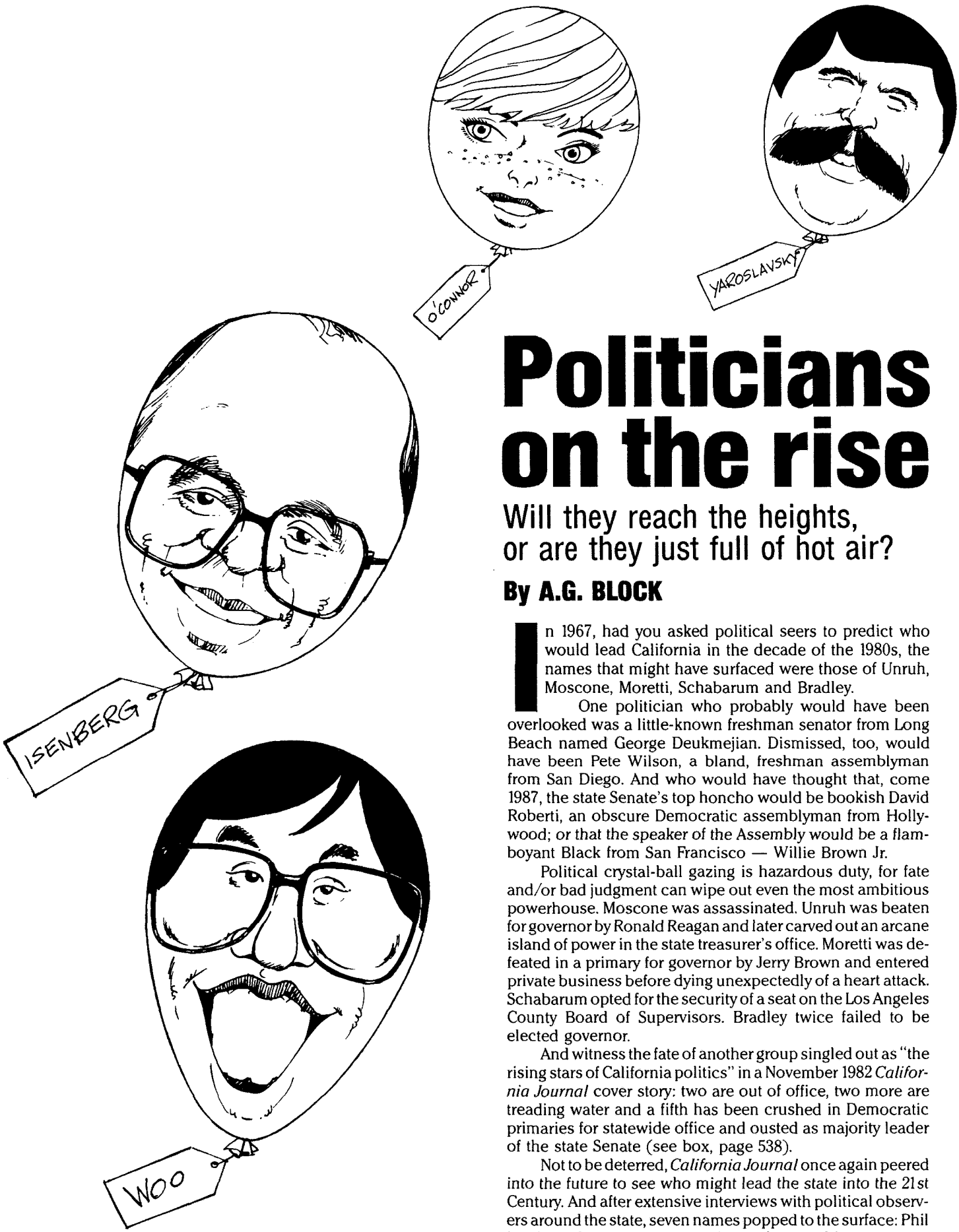

Politicians on the rise

Will they reach the heights, or are they just full of hot air?

By A.G. BLOCK

In 1967, had you asked political seers to predict who would lead California in the decade of the 1980s, the names that might have surfaced were those of Unruh, Moscone, Moretti, Schabarum and Bradley.

One politician who probably would have been overlooked was a little-known freshman senator from Long Beach named George Deukmejian. Dismissed, too, would have been Pete Wilson, a bland, freshman assemblyman from San Diego. And who would have thought that, come 1987, the state Senate's top honcho would be bookish David Roberti, an obscure Democratic assemblyman from Hollywood; or that the speaker of the Assembly would be a flamboyant Black from San Francisco — Willie Brown Jr.

Political crystal-ball gazing is hazardous duty, for fate and/or bad judgment can wipe out even the most ambitious powerhouse. Moscone was assassinated. Unruh was beaten for governor by Ronald Reagan and later carved out an arcane island of power in the state treasurer's office. Moretti was defeated in a primary for governor by Jerry Brown and entered private business before dying unexpectedly of a heart attack. Schabarum opted for the security of a seat on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Bradley twice failed to be elected governor.

And witness the fate of another group singled out as "the rising stars of California politics" in a November 1982 *California Journal* cover story: two are out of office, two more are treading water and a fifth has been crushed in Democratic primaries for statewide office and ousted as majority leader of the state Senate (see box, page 538).

Not to be deterred, *California Journal* once again peered into the future to see who might lead the state into the 21st Century. And after extensive interviews with political observers around the state, seven names popped to the surface: Phil Isenberg, Democratic assemblyman from and former mayor of Sacramento; Mel Levine, Democratic congressman from Los Angeles; Dan Lungren, Republican congressman from

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Long Beach; Maureen O'Connor, mayor of San Diego; Gaddi Vasquez, Republican supervisor from Orange County; Mike Woo, Los Angeles city councilman; and Zev Yaroslavsky, also a Los Angeles city councilman and the only "rising star" held over from 1982.

These seven should beware, however, for given the fortunes of the 1982 Five, this *Journal* kudo could become as valuable to political success as one from *Sports Illustrated* has been to athletic success. (An April 1987 *SI* cover story touted the Cleveland Indians, who proceeded to lose more games than anyone else in major league baseball.)

There are other politicians of promise around the state, of course: Democratic state Controller Gray Davis, whose penchant for squeezing campaign dollars out of anyone who breathes may carry the seeds of his own destruction; Attorney General John Van de Kamp, a bland campaigner generally regarded as a frontrunner for the 1990 Democratic gubernatorial nomination; Ken Maddy, minority leader of the state Senate who seems to have the tools to mount a campaign for governor or U.S. senator but whose commitment to such a race is constantly in question; Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, Democratic frontrunner for the right to challenge Senator Pete Wilson's reelection bid in 1988; Gary Hart, an earnest and thoughtful state senator from Santa Barbara; and Dianne Feinstein, a Democrat who must keep her political fortunes alive for two years after stepping down as mayor of San Francisco in December 1987.

Here, then, are the seven:

PHIL ISENBERG
Assemblyman, Sacramento
Democrat

Phil Isenberg has a wry wit, not to mention a realist's view of political soothsaying. "This business is mostly luck," he said when told about being tabbed by the *Journal*. "I've learned over a long time in politics that you never anticipate anything."

But many observers think Isenberg has more going for him than luck. They see a potential Assembly speakership for the 48-year-old Sacramento lawmaker. "He's one of the few people you can point to who enjoys both policy and process," explains a fellow Assembly member. "You can't be speaker unless you're willing to pay attention to the political minutiae and intrigue. Phil not only pays attention to it, he loves it."

Isenberg told the *Sacramento Bee* not long ago that leadership is the ability to make the process move smoothly. A leader needs an agenda, a goal, a direction; but mostly, a leader needs to grease the machinery.

As mayor of Sacramento from 1975 to 1982, Isenberg greased, providing both leadership and vision for a community on the verge of a boom. During the 1970s, for example, Isenberg was among a handful of civic leaders who anticipated the need to improve public transportation in Sacramento. To that end, he engineered funding for the city's new light-rail project, which opened for business in 1987. And although a liberal Democrat, Isenberg as mayor coaxed a reluctant business community into supporting his agenda for planned growth, facilitating relations between business and government by creating a full-time liaison between his office and the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce. Much of that support evaporated with Isenberg's departure.

Isenberg's political education began when he went to work in the San Francisco law firm of Assemblyman Willie Brown Jr. soon after graduating from UC Berkeley Boalt Hall Law School. In 1970 he expanded into the legislative arena by becoming chief consultant to the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Brown.

In the Assembly, Isenberg's main policy interests have been water and health care. Because his 10th Assembly District includes large chunks of the Sacramento Delta, he's

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worked with urban legislators to build a coalition to solve north-south water squabbles. In the health-care field, he has become involved with the nitty-gritty of making Medi-Cal contracting work for the benefit of patients. Isenberg has also pushed a catastrophic health-care insurance bill through the Assembly and is negotiating with the governor, who has vetoed similar bills in the past. He's also authored bills to reform nursing-home practices.

Isenberg

If Isenberg has a problem, observers say, it could be his proximity to Brown. "Right now, he's thought of as Willie's man," said a legislative consultant. "How far he goes depends on whether he can shake that image and become his own man once Willie is no longer on the scene."

Although flattered by his designation as a rising star, Isenberg discounts any mention of his potential, especially as a future speaker. "There is no heavier burden than a great potential," he said, quoting that well-known political philosopher — Charlie Brown.

MEL LEVINE
Congressman, Los Angeles
Democrat

There is an oft-repeated myth that when Mel Levine announced for the state Assembly back in 1976, his father, Sid, sat in the lobby of Hillcrest Country Club in Beverly Hills and raised more than $300,000 in an afternoon — without asking for a dime.

Levine the Younger denies this happened. Sid Levine, he insists, is a life-long Republican who has refused to become involved in his son's fund-raising activities. Levine says the story was manufactured by rivals during a heated 1976 Assembly primary. But the myth persists, and whether true or not true, it highlights one of Levine's strengths: He can raise money.

"Mel has raised more money than any other California congressman without breathing hard," says a source in the nation's Capitol.

Says Levine: "I've been fortunate to come from an area (West Los Angeles) where people are involved and interested in politics and are willing to give. I know a lot of people."

Levine also admits that, when necessary, his fund-raising network extends beyond his home turf, thanks to his strong support for Israel in the Congress. Heading into a tough 1986 reelection campaign, for example, Levine was able to tap Jewish sources in New York and San Francisco, and says he could have raised more had he needed it.

According to most observers, Levine has more going for him than money, however. His base is in Southern California, regarded as essential for any congressman who wants to succeed as a statewide candidate. A graduate of UC Berkeley with a law degree from Harvard and a Master's in Public Administration from Princeton, Levine is considered one of the brighter members of Congress. As if money and brains weren't enough, Levine is also a dedicated family man with boyish good looks and one of Congress' best athletes. And, he's something of a media darling in Washington.

"He knows how to use media," says one source close to Levine. "He's learned to talk in 30-second sound bites, plus he's developed a lot of national media credibility. Reporters trust him."

These assets make Levine a formidable entry into any statewide race once the 44-year-old congressman decides to take the plunge. Some observers thought 1988 might be the year with a challenge to Republican Senator Pete Wilson. But Levine says the timing was all wrong.

"I have three small kids, and that precluded any serious political consideration," he says. "It was never possible for 1988."

If Levine has a glaring weakness, it may be that he is perceived as too liberal to run successfully in a state that is tilting more and more to the right.

Not so, says one source who has observed Levine for years. "Mel is clearly liberal on social issues," says the source, who asked not to be identified. "But he also has picked fiscally conservative issues that appeal to liberals."

For example, Levine is considered a critic on how the military buys equipment, a position he couches in terms meant to endear him to conservatives: saving the taxpayers money; buying more bang for the buck; cutting down on waste in government spending. Even his strong support for Israel as a capitalistic bastion in the Middle East is meant to appeal to conservatives.

Levine also discounts the liberal tag, pointing out that he's been able to appeal to a diverse political district which includes liberal Santa Monica and conservative Manhattan Beach. "I've worked hard on issues like military reform and protecting the coastline that cut across party and philosophical lines," he says.

Levine

Another problem for Levine is his lack of name recognition in Northern California, a shortcoming he plans to correct. For instance, as one of six co-chairs of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, he is responsible for raising money and recruiting candidates throughout the Western United States, a role that will bring him to Northern California often, he says.

Although he is appropriately vague when discussing his future, Levine's timetable probably involves a challenge for the U.S. Senate no earlier than 1992 when the current incumbent, Alan Cranston, will be due for reelection at age 78. By then Levine should have amassed a formidable warchest, collected a pile of political chits in Washington and in California, and made his name more recognizable throughout the state.

DAN LUNGREN
Congressman, Long Beach
Republican

Dan Lungren spent nearly a year working aggressively and continually on a run for U.S. Senate in 1986 (see "A conservative on the move," *CJ*, August 1984). He traveled up and down California, engaged in numerous pre-primary, multi-candidate forums, and learned a very important lesson: You can have the best ideas in the galaxy, but if no one knows who you are, you won't get off the launching pad.

"My candidacy suffered from writer's cramp," he says to-

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day. "Not enough people were willing to write checks to my campaign."

As a result, Lungren withdrew from a crowded Republican primary even before it began. But most observers say 1986 was a temporary setback, and Lungren seems to know how to correct it.

"First of all, I have to firm up my own natural financial base from my own district," he says, in explaining what he must do to become a viable statewide candidate. "I haven't been required to do that to run for Congress. Starting from that ground, I have to move out and make contacts with people outside my district. I've made beginnings."

Lungren

Lungren has been hacking around Washington political circles since his days as a Georgetown law student back in the early 1970s. It was a heady time for a young Republican in his 20s. Richard Nixon was president, and Lungren's father was Nixon's White House physician. The younger Lungren served as a staffer to GOP Senators George Murphy of California and Bill Brock of Tennessee.

By the end of the decade, Dan Lungren was a member of Congress himself, having defeated incumbent Democrat Mark Hanrahan in 1978. He represents the 42nd Congressional District, which stretches along the coast from Torrance and Long Beach in Los Angeles County south to Huntington Beach in Orange County.

A strong, although not-always-predictable conservative, Lungren is considered bright, articulate, mediagenic — and aggressively restless. During his first term in Congress, he joined several GOP Young Turks to try to block the 1980 election of Robert Michel as House Minority Leader. Although the effort failed, Lungren seemed to emerge unscathed, for in 1983 Michel chose Lungren to serve as point man for a package of crime bills that many Republicans wanted to drop. Lungren succeeded in pushing the package through the House, earning high praise from Michel.

Since then, the 41-year-old Lungren has shown a penchant for coalition-building. He helped form a small group of House Republican colleagues known as the Conservative Opportunity Society. The group, Lungren told *California Journal*, has dedicated itself to a vague agenda centered around fighting the "liberal welfare state" and saving "moral values."

Regardless of the group's vague purpose, Lungren's involvement puts him in the vanguard of a new Republicanism that he says wants more aggressive party leadership. "To be a viable political force in this country, you've got to be moving," he told the *Journal*.

He also put together the GOP coalition that pushed through the 1986 immigration reform bill, a culmination of eight years' work for Lungren. He also scored a triumph by resurrecting the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act, getting it passed in the House and garnering support for it in the Senate by both Ted Kennedy and Strom Thurmond.

"Dan Lungren has a talented, intelligent legal mind," says Republican colleague Jerry Lewis of Redlands. "He's made a big impact in Washington. He's shown an ability to bring disparate sides together on an issue, and although he's partisan and conservative, he's been able to build bi-partisan coalitions."

If Lungren has a weakness, says Lewis, it's his tendency to be impatient with those who haven't done their homework.

Lungren's career in the House seems secure. But his overall political future could arrive sooner than anyone expected, thanks to a push from Governor George Deukmejian who is known to be considering Lungren as a potential replacement for state Treasurer Jesse Unruh, who died in August. Should the governor choose someone else to be treasurer, Lungren is considered to have the capability and desire to move in front of the herd of conservative Republicans who now inhabit the right wing of California politics.

MAUREEN O'CONNOR
Mayor, San Diego
Democrat

The mayor of any large California city automatically carries visibility and power onto a statewide stage. All the more so if that mayor is young, ambitious and wealthy. Thus, a few years ago no one would have been surprised had a list of the state's rising politicians included San Diego's mediagenic Republican mayor, Roger Hedgecock. Hedgecock's future contained a few glitches, however — like 13 felony convictions for violating campaign-finance and disclosure laws. He was forced to resign as mayor in December 1985 (see "Mayor Maureen," *CJ*, August 1986).

Hedgecock's successor is not as overtly ambitious. But Maureen Frances O'Connor Peterson has displayed enough ambition of her own over the years to indicate at least a twinkle of desire for greater political glory, O'Connor ("Peterson" comes from her 1977 marriage to Jack-in-the-Box founder Robert O. Peterson) twice ran for mayor, ironically losing to Hedgecock a year before winning a special election to fill out his term.

Since becoming mayor in July 1986, O'Connor has displayed both leadership and curious lapses of interest that have seen some of her achievements undone. For instance, earlier this year she orchestrated enough public support to ram a slow-growth ordinance through the city council. She then left for a three-week European tour, and while she was gone, the ordinance was gutted with exemptions.

O'Connor

Although publicly popular, observers say O'Connor is aloof, and even some of her staunchest allies have expressed disappointment with her first year as mayor. The *San Diego Union*, which strongly supported her mayoral bid, gave her a tough report card, claiming she hadn't kept her campaign promises — especially that of rallying federal support to help solve San Diego's critical sewage-treatment problem.

Others say her potential is unlimited.

"Maureen O'Connor is a hot political property," Assembly Speaker Willie Brown gushed even before O'Connor had been elected mayor. "Every time we get a new Democrat elected, and particularly a Democratic mayor, we are looking at a potential gubernatorial candidate or U.S. Senate candidate or candidate for statewide office."

Pretty heady stuff for a former gym teacher whose first

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race for the city council was dubbed the "children's crusade" because her students from Catholic Rosary High School formed the backbone of her campaign. That was 1971, and O'Connor has since become an old hand at San Diego politics. She won that 1971 race, defeating a well-heeled candidate backed by bankers and businessmen.

By becoming mayor, O'Connor broke the Republicans' 15-year hold on the job and propelled herself into a statewide limelight. It is not a role she has relished. According to sources in San Diego, O'Connor has repeatedly denied any ambition beyond being mayor. Some say she is being held back by her husband's chronic ill health and may become restless later on.

She is also at risk due to this month's municipal elections. Although not a candidate herself, she could suffer if the city council's political makeup changes dramatically. Currently, O'Connor casts one of nine council votes, but she has built a coalition that gives her a five-four majority on most issues. Unfortunately for her, that majority is about to fall apart because half the council is retiring, and three of the retirees are her allies.

That council coalition has supported O'Connor's policy of slow, managed growth and her vow to curb developers' influence on community affairs. Should her allies be replaced with those who don't share her views on the environment, she could face six months of frustration and defeat inside the council chambers, leading to a strong challenge to her own reelection bid in June 1988.

For the most part, a prudent O'Connor stayed out of a chaotic primary that saw 38 candidates vie for four council seats. She did recruit one candidate, Ron Roberts, to run in one of the district primaries, and he succeeded in forcing a November runoff. In other districts, she waited for the dust to settle before interviewing survivors prior to endorsing candidates for the runoff. Presumably, she will endorse those who share her view of San Diego's development.

The '82 stars: Wh

By LISA STEIN

Political soothsaying can be dangerous for both seer and subject. The political arena is strewn with too many land mines. Witness the fate of five politicians tabbed by *California Journal* in November 1982 as rising stars: John Garamendi, Sunne Wright McPeak, Bruce Nestande, Richard Robinson and Zev Yaroslavsky.

John Garamendi is still a member of the state Senate, but his political career has been somewhat turbulent during the past five years. In 1982 Garamendi was young, attractive and bright, and praised for having considerable political skills. And although he lost the 1982 gubernatorial primary to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the rising Democrat captured 25 percent of the vote against a well-known and well-financed opponent.

Garamendi's career seemed to fall off a cliff two years later. His fellow Senate Democrats didn't seem to like him very much. At least, they didn't like his overt ambition, and in 1984 they dumped Garamendi as majority leader because they felt his political career had become more important than his responsibilities to them. In 1986 he considered challenging Bradley again for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination but withdrew when it became apparent that he could not raise enough money to mount an effective challenge.

Meanwhile, in early 1986 Garamendi was prominently mentioned as having a leading role in an unsuccessful attempt to oust David Roberti as Senate president pro tempore. Roberti retaliated by removing Garamendi from the prestigious Senate Budget Committee and cutting his office space in half.

Not to be deterred by this setback, Garamendi became one of a handful of Democrats who plunged into the 1986 primary for state controller when incumbent Ken Cory announced at the last minute that he would not seek reelection. Garamendi was soundly defeated by former Assemblyman Gray Davis, who went on to win in November.

Garamendi has made a comeback of sorts in the Senate, having been appointed chairman of the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee earlier this year. That placed him in a position to shepherd the state's tax-reform measure through the Legislature. He faces reelection in 1988 and should have no problem returning to Sacramento.

Sunne Wright McPeak has been treading water since 1982. She holds the same post she held in 1982 — Contra Costa County supervisor. Described as "one of the most visible local

Garamendi

McPeak

officials who travel regularly to Sacramento," McPeak had also played a leading role in the fight to defeat the Peripheral Canal. The East Bay Democrat was widely considered to be both knowledgeable and respected as a lobbyist on local issues.

But McPeak's climb up the political ladder has been stymied because the rungs above her are filled. For example, her road to the state Senate is blocked by a fellow Democrat, Dan Boatwright. And although McPeak has hinted she will challenge Boatwright in the 1988 primary, the incumbent lawmaker says he is unconcerned. Should Boatwright become vulnerable, McPeak isn't the only Democrat primed to jump into the fray. Democratic Assemblyman Bob Campbell has hinted that he, too, may challenge the veteran senator. Campbell currently blocks McPeak's road to the Assembly. Another Democratic in-

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If she emerges from the November election with another council majority, and if her development agenda prevails as a campaign theme, O'Connor will solidify her grip on San Diego politics — and provide herself with a firm base for future forays statewide.

GADDI VASQUEZ
Supervisor, Orange County
Republican

It's a long way from a Salinas migrant-farmworkers' camp to the board rooms of Orange County corporations. But Gaddi Vasquez seems to have made a successful transition. Smooth, handsome and articulate, the 32-year-old former City of Orange police officer was appointed to the Orange County Board of Supervisors in April 1987 to replace Bruce Nestande. Since then, he has nailed down the support of corporate and political leaders throughout the county as he prepares for his first run at elective office in June 1988.

Toward that goal, Vasquez has already shown a penchant for raising campaign cash. According to one observer, a July 1987 fund raiser drew just about every lobbyist in the county. Vasquez says he has raised about $100,000, with more fund raisers scheduled in 1987 and early 1988. The headliner at one of those fund raisers is expected to be none other than George Deukmejian, for whom Vasquez once worked as deputy appointments secretary.

Vasquez characterizes himself a conservative Republican, an interesting evolution for the child of a labor camp. "The GOP better represented the ideals I was raised with — the work ethic, less government, self-determination and free enterprise," explained Vasquez, who says he became a GOP faithful at age 18. His parents, he adds, are life-long Democrats who switched Republican during Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign.

Continued

re are they now?

and A.G. BLOCK

cumbent, George Miller, sits astride her route to Congress.

So McPeak sits, her options only as promising as her willingness to risk a fight with Boatwright come June 1988.

Back in 1982 **Bruce Nestande**, a former assemblyman, was chairman of the Orange County Board of Supervisors. He was also a member of the California Transportation Commission, having been appointed by Democratic Governor Jerry

Nestande

Robinson

Brown. In 1982, Bruce Nestande was considered one of the Republican Party's best and brightest.

By 1987 Nestance was out of politics, having resigned as chairman of the Orange County Board to pursue a career in the private sector. His po.itical demise was helped along by persistent rumors that he was being investigated for his ties to W. Patrick Moriarty, the former Orange County fireworks tycoon convicted for political influence-peddling in 1985. Nestande denied that the Moriarty scandals had influenced his decision to resign from the board two years before the end of his term.

Moriarty or no Moriarty, Nestande's zest for politics seemed to have cooled. In 1986 he considered running for lieutenant governor and was thought to be the candidate George Deukmejian wanted on the Republican ticket. But when fellow Republican Mike Curb announced his intent to run for lieutenant governor, Nestande at first waffled, then decided against an open battle with Curb.

Instead, he chose a nearly suicidal race against California's popular secretary of state, March Fong Eu. Nestande ran a half-hearted campaign, hampered in part by his inability to raise money. In the end, Eu crushed him.

Two months later, Nestande quit the board, although he remains a member of the state Transportation Commission.

Richard Robinson, an assemblyman from Orange County when he made the *California Journal* cover in 1982, was regarded as an ambitious politician with great potential, yet also great arrogance and ruthlessness. He was described as "one of the Legislature's most influential and effective members," a close ally of Speaker Willie Brown. His future was pegged to a high-powered job in the Assembly, or to a possible run for the U.S. Senate.

But Robinson, too, is out of politics. He narrowly won reelection to the Assembly in 1982 and 1984, retaining his seat by a mere 256 votes in 1984. Six months earlier, the ascerbic Robinson had been ousted as Democratic Caucus Chairman after a squabble with Speaker Brown. Robinson blamed his demise on his support for a water plan put forward by Governor Deukmejian.

Meanwhile, Robinson's 72nd Assembly District, which straddles Orange and Los Angeles counties, was slipping fast toward the Republicans, as evidenced by his narrow escape in 1984. When his '84 opponent, Richard Longshore, announced that he would seek a rematch in 1986, Robinson decided against reelection to the Assembly.

But rather than slip quietly into retirement, Robinson decided to challenge incumbent Robert Dornan for Congress. He lost by a wide margin.

Los Angeles City Councilman **Zev Yaroslavsky** was predicted in our 1982 article to be a sure candidate for mayor. Well, some things never change (see story, page 538). Yaroslavsky has been a councilman for 12 years, and all evidence points to the fact that he will challenge for mayor in 1989 — whether incumbent Tom Bradley runs or retires.

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Others to watch

The six men and one woman featured on this month's cover were not the only politicians thought to have promising futures.

Other Democrats

• **Art Agnos** — assemblyman, San Francisco: Agnos' future is almost exclusively pegged to how well he does in the current San Francisco mayoral race. Should he win, Agnos will have immediate statewide recognition as well as a strong base from which to run.

• **Mike Aguirre** — former U.S. attorney, San Diego: Dynamic and ambitious, Aguirre is expected to run for the San Diego City Council.

• **Bruce Bronzan** — assemblyman, Fresno: Bright, articulate and cool, Bronzan could be a future Assembly speaker if Democrats control the lower house after 1990 and if the Assembly itself wants a speaker who is more oriented toward policy than politics once Willie Brown steps aside.

• **Jerry Brown** — former governor, Los Angeles: Can he ever be counted out?

• **Tony Coelho** — congressman, Fresno: Coelho is already the number three Democrat in the House of Representatives and regarded as a future Speaker of the House.

• **Delaine Eastin** — assemblywoman, Union City: Eastin is considered the cream of a good crop of freshman Assembly members.

• **John Emerson** — attorney, Los Angeles: An attorney with the politically-connected law firm of Manatt, Phelps, Rothenburg and Tunney, Emerson was former U.S. Senator Gary Hart's man in California who may be itching for a political career of his own. He recently went to work as chief deputy to Los Angeles City Attorney James Hahn.

• **Vic Fazio** — congressman, West Sacramento: Fazio was recently judged California's most effective member of Congress. He's well-liked and well-respected by colleagues, but his future in the House is clouded by another Californian who sits above him in the pecking order — Tony Coelho.

• **Jim Gonzalez** — county supervisor, San Francisco: Gonzalez, an aggressive community activist, was given a political boost when appointed to fill the supervisorial term of Quentin Kopp who was elected to the state Senate in November 1986.

• **James Hahn** — city attorney, Los Angeles: Hahn has built-in name recognition in Los Angeles as the son of long-time County Supervisor Kenny Hahn. He can raise oodles of money off that name. Although not considered the most brilliant mind, Hahn is said to have good political instincts.

• **Pat Johnston** — assemblyman, Stockton: Like Bruce Bronzan, Johnston is well respected within the Assembly. His integrity is beyond question, and he has shown an ability to get along with both farmers and labor in his district.

• **Richard Katz** — assemblyman, Los Angeles: Like Phil Isenberg, Katz is known to have a love for the kind of intrigue and minutiae necessary to being an effective speaker.

• **Carmen Luna** — assistant chief of staff to Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, Los Angeles: Although she lost, Luna mounted an effective campaign for the Los Angeles Community College Board in 1986, running a strong race with almost no money.

• **Gloria Molina** — city councilwoman, Los Angeles: Molina bucked the Latino powers-that-be to win her seat on the council. The downside is that the former assemblywoman has mended few fences since her election.

• **Richard Patterson** — city councilman, Modesto: Patterson is regarded as a rising star among young Black leaders. Two years ago he won an at-large council seat with more votes than any other candidate.

• **Wilson Riles Jr.** — city councilman, Oakland: Son of the former superintendent of public instruction, Riles lost a race to incumbent Lionel Wilson for mayor of Oakland a few years back. But many observers think that was just a temporary setback.

• **Ira Reiner** — district attorney, Los Angeles County: Aggressive, ambitious and pugnacious, Reiner can raise a lot of money and garner loads of publicity as LA's DA. Unfortunately, not all that publicity is good; his handling of the McMartin child-abuse case is not exactly a feather in his cap at this point.

• **Art Torres** — state senator, Los Angeles: Torres was regarded as a "can't miss" politician not long ago — bright, articulate, mediagenic, thoughtful. Then came an arrest for drunk driving in Sacramento.

Other Republicans

• **John Doolittle** — state senator, Roseville: Doolittle's political career has been no less than miraculous, as has his rise to prominence as the GOP's number-two man in the state Senate. Some think he may run for attorney general in 1990, although many regard him as too far to the right to run a successful statewide campaign.

• **Robert Dornan** — congressman, Orange County: Known as "B-1 Bob" for his ardent support of the controversial bomber, Dornan is California's most flamboyant member of Congress. He makes no secret of his ambition to run for statewide office and has recently tempered his reputation as a right-wing zealot by endorsing Vice President George Bush in the 1988 presidential sweepstakes.

• **Dave Dreier** — congressman, La Verne: Dreier is sitting on a million bucks, which gives anyone potential.

• **Clint Eastwood** — mayor, Carmel: Republicans would love to woo ole "make-my-day" out of Carmel and onto the statewide stage. Thus far, he's shown no inclination to oblige.

• **Susan Golding** — county supervisor, San Diego: Golding has ties to both Republicans and Democrats. She served in the Deukmejian administration for a while but is married to Richard Silberman, a former crony of Jerry Brown. She is seen as a strong mayoral challenger for Maureen O'Connor in 1988.

• **Bev Hansen** — assemblywoman, Oroville: A freshman lawmaker regarded as capable and bright, Hansen has managed to endear herself to both conservative Republicans and moderate Democrats. Many think she's the best of the freshman Republicans.

• **Trice Harvey** — assemblyman, Bakersfield: Harvey's wily, down-home style and statesman-like approach to his job have made the freshman lawmaker a pleasant surprise for Republicans.

• **Dianne Jacob** — school board chairwoman, San Diego: An aggressive Republican who bears watching as San Diego shifts from Democrat to Republican.

• **Becky Morgan** — state senator, Los Altos Hills: Morgan has ambition to run statewide, perhaps as early as 1990. She has the same base as Ed Zschau, which could produce a lot of money. But Morgan has earned a reputation inside the Legislature as abrasive, and she could want for allies should she decide to take the plunge.

• **Charles Quackenbush** — assemblyman, Saratoga: If looks alone elected public officials, Quackenbush would be president. He looks like he stepped off the pages of *Gentleman's Quarterly*, but he needs to mature and to develop some political instincts.

• **John Seymour** — senator, Anaheim: Seymour is a former mayor of Anaheim who maintains a popular base in populous Orange County. Although hard-working and intelligent, Seymour shared responsibility for the GOP's debacle in last summer's 33rd Senate District special election. He was replaced as caucus chairman soon after.

-- A.G. Block

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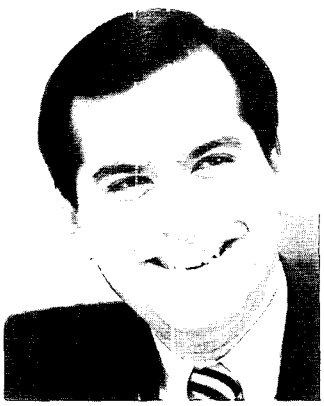
Vasquez' family managed to get out of the camps when he was still a small child, migrating to Orange where his father eventually became a Protestant minister. Vasquez, who attended Orange public schools, says he has always been interested in politics. "At age 11 or 12," he says, "I used to enjoy sitting up into the wee small hours listening to election returns." A trip to Boys' State while a senior at Orange High School gave him his first understanding of the political system, he says.

Despite his relatively young age, observers say Vasquez already displays a remarkable sophistication when it comes to dealing with the media. "He knows how to get his point across," commented one reporter who covers Orange County politics.

But says another, "It's hard to tell what substance there is at this point. He's got a lot of public relations strength. He's a good speaker, but the words don't say an awful lot."

The only question concerning Vasquez is his electability; he has yet to successfully run for office. And some observers say that his Hispanic background may not serve him well in a district as conservative as the one he now represents.



Vasquez

One of the leading political lights of that district thinks Vasquez will do just fine, however. "He's extremely capable," says state Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, who characterizes herself as a strong supporter of Vasquez. "He's young but has a broad experience in government service."

Vasquez, who is married and the father of a nine-year-old son, says his Hispanic heritage is no liability at all. "People are looking for leadership, and that's the first criterion," he says. "In Orange County today, there are 10 or 12 elected officials who are Hispanic, including the mayor of Orange in my district."

As for his political future, Vasquez plans to spend at least two full terms on the Orange County board before exploring other possibilities. "At this point in my career, age is an advantage," he says.

MIKE WOO
City Councilman, Los Angeles
Democrat

Mike Woo's greatest political victory was not the one that got him elected to a seat on the Los Angeles City Council. It was the battle that allowed him to keep that seat. After defeating incumbent Councilwoman Peggy Stevenson in 1985, Woo found himself squeezed by a court-mandated redistricting plan that would have separated Woo from his political base in Hollywood and placed him in a district designed for an Hispanic.

Woo was targeted because political opponents thought him inexperienced, an easy mark who would roll over and accept an unfavorable reapportionment. They miscalculated. Woo fought the original plan with a gusto and savvy that belied his relative newcomer status, co-authoring (with fellow shaftee, Councilman John Ferraro) the districting proposal eventually adopted by the council — a proposal that not unexpectedly preserved Woo's political future.

Woo's success was helped in part by the Asian-American community, which rallied to his side. Because Woo was the first and only Asian American ever elected to the Los Angeles City Council, his political survival became a community imperative.

"The symbolism was important," Woo said at the time, "that this community can't be taken for granted. It will rise up when necessary."

More than symbolism, the Asian-American community is considered a sound financial base for any of its sons and daughters who emerge in the political limelight. That financial strength surfaced most dramatically during Woo's 1985 election. After losing a 1981 city council election to Stevenson, Woo amassed an $800,000 warchest for his 1985 attempt. Half of his campaign fund was donated by Asian Americans, with $210,000 coming from his father, conservative Republican Wilbur Woo.

Woo

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

While Asian Americans are important to Woo, his political advancement depends on his being taken seriously outside of the ethnic community. As Woo told a group of Asian-American Democrats in 1986, "We are faced with a very delicate balancing act: How to be as Asian as we need to be, in terms of developing a base of support, but at the same time not being so Asian that we offend or put off other people."

Woo's interest in public affairs is rooted in his father's career as a community activist. After emigrating from Canton, China, during the 1930s, the elder Woo grew wealthy and influential as a businessman and as a political activist in Los Angeles' Chinatown. The younger Woo graduated from UC Santa Cruz, then earned a Master's in City Planning from UC Berkeley. Before running for office himself, he worked as an aide to Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, whose legislative district now overlaps Woo's council district.

According to some observers, Woo's political sophistication, mixed with his youth and ability as a public speaker, paint an enviable future for the 36-year-old councilman. "He could be mayor of Los Angeles in 10 years," said a Democratic member of the state Assembly. "He's going to benefit from the generational turnover in LA politics, and from the growing Asian influence."

"The way he saved his council seat showed he's got an impressive ability to build coalitions," said another. "That, together with the potential for raising money in the Asian community, will make him a formidable candidate statewide."

ZEV YAROSLAVSKY
City Councilman, Los Angeles
Democrat

In 1982 *California Journal* included Los Angeles City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky among its five rising stars of California politics (see box, page 539). Well, it is now 1987 and here Yaroslavsky in the new platoon — still considered a political up-and-comer.

This leads to the conclusion that Yaroslavsky has been treading water for five years. And in a sense, he has, for there has been no place to go. A run for mayor was out because Tom Bradley decided to seek a fourth term in 1985, thus closing off Yaroslavsky's route to the job most observers say he

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wants badly. Nor could he run for the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors because incumbent Ed Edelman enjoys the same West Los Angeles base as does Yaroslavsky. He couldn't run for Congress for the same reason. He couldn't run for district attorney or city attorney because he isn't a lawyer.

So, Zev Yaroslavsky has been in a rut.

But there are signs the 38-year-old councilman may be ready to blast out.

"The situation has changed a lot (for Yaroslavsky) over the past five years," says Bill Boyarsky, who covers LA city politics for the *Los Angeles Times*.

The change has come about because Yaroslavsky has found an issue that distinguishes him from most of his colleagues on the council and, more important, from Mayor Tom Bradley — slow growth.

Yaroslavsky and fellow Councilman Marvin Braude sponsored Proposition U in 1986. Prop U, which halved the amount of floor space allowed in future commercial buildings, passed with over 60 percent of the vote in every city council district. With LA freeways clogged with traffic, with more and more people pouring into the Los Angeles basin every month, with urban sprawl making trips around Los Angeles County seem endless, slow growth has finally become a popular buzzword in the city that raised helter-skelter development to an art form. And Yaroslavsky is one of those who is buzzing the loudest, a fact that may allow him to cash in, come the mayoral race of 1989.

Bradley says he will run again, but the 68-year-old mayor's image has suffered over the past few years. First, he is perceived as having presided over LA's years of sprawl, thus placing him on the wrong side of the growth issue. This has allowed Yaroslavsky to seize the high ground. Second, Bradley's thrashing by George Deukmejian in their 1986 rematch for governor has painted Bradley as a loser.

Yaroslavsky needs more than an issue — however chic — to emerge as a viable candidate for mayor. He needs money. Lots and lots of money. And in the past he has shown an impressive ability to raise it. His base is solidly rooted in the West Los Angeles Jewish community, which is not stingy when it comes to giving — especially to one of its own. It is rumored that Yaroslavsky has a million-dollar-plus warchest, much of it ironically raised from the very developers he skewered with Proposition U. A million dollars goes a long way toward running for mayor, and there are still 18 months left to raise even more money before the June 1989 mayoral primary.

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Yaroslavsky

If Yaroslavsky has a weakness it is that he is yet relatively unknown outside his district, according to a June 1987 *Los Angeles Times* poll. This makes Yaroslavsky what one reporter called "regional," and it is not known how well he will play among LA's growing Latino and Asian communities.

Certainly, the 1989 mayoral race will be crowded, whether Bradley runs or not. Yaroslavsky has the money and the issue to run strong in the primary. His future looks bright — if he succeeds. If he fails, his image may permanently fade from everyone's crystal ball.

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SURPRISE!

There's a political donnybrook in San Francisco — again

By JERRY ROBERTS

Only in San Francisco could three socialists, a salsa nightclub owner and a heavy-drinking newspaper columnist hold the balance of power in the most important municipal election of a generation.

But as the city's first wide-open mayor's race since 1975 headed into the home stretch, San Francisco's anything-goes reputation remained intact, with a pack of fringe and minor party candidates attracting enough collective support to force a December run-off between the top two contenders in the No-

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vember balloting.

"San Francisco has a well-documented history of support for fringe candidates," noted veteran political operative Jack Davis. "Whether it's Sister Boom-Boom, Jello Biafra or Warren Hinckle, outrageous candidates have done outrageously well here."

In the final days before the November 3rd balloting, both independent and private campaign polls showed Supervisor John Molinari and Assemblyman Art Agnos leading the other nine candidates on the ballot — but also running far short of the 50 percent-plus-one-vote majority required to win the mayor's office outright.

Barring an upset by businessman Roger Boas, who was running third in the polls, Molinari and Agnos appeared headed for a winner-take-all political playoff.

Having spent a combined $2 million campaigning in a year-long marathon to get this far, Molinari and Agnos were expected to face the new challenge of a two-man, four-week sprint to the finish on December 8th, when San Francisco voters would determine the direction of their city's public policy into the next decade.

For Molinari, a centrist in the mold of lameduck Mayor Dianne Feinstein, and for Agnos, a liberal in the tradition of the late Mayor George Moscone, the first task was reaching out to voters who had supported another candidate in the preliminary round.

The Boas vote was expected to be the big prize, with Molinari given an edge in courting the Republicans, older residents and conservative homeowners from west side neighborhoods who formed his core support.

Agnos was considered an early favorite in the battle for several thousand voters who had planned to cast ballots for Cesar Ascarrunz, a millionaire Mission District dance club owner and perennial candidate who specialized in *ad hominem* attacks on the front-runners and direct emotional appeals to Hispanics.

Also up for grabs were voters who favored Warren Hinckle, a corpulent, one-eyed veteran newspaperman who was born and bred in San Francisco and who took a leave of absence from duties at the *Examiner* to run an anti-establishment campaign concocted of one part belly laughs, one part native-son outrage and one part Rainier ale.

No less than three socialists — electronics assembly worker Peter Anestos of the Socialist Worker Party, Peace and Freedom candidate Melissa Ehman and writer Joseph Ryan of the *Socialist Action* newspaper — drew scattered support with their platforms of soak-the-rich income redistribution and leftist indulgence for ideological attacks upon each other.

And that was not to mention such rivals as stand-up comedian Will Durst, who ran as a "social commentator," or Ellis Keyes, a punk-rock club employee carrying the banner of the "Party of Life," or Scott Redmond, a neighborhood activist who late in the fall campaign magnanimously threw his inconsiderable support behind Agnos.

It was a fitting finish to the wildest year in San Francisco politics in memory, as a flood of political ambition, dammed up during the nine-year Feinstein reign, was suddenly released — with often unpredictable results in this most politically unpredictable town.

The mayor's race was expected to be the city's main political event of 1987. But a few weeks after the new year began, it was overshadowed by another electoral event that occupied civic center stage for months and set the tone for the mayor's race. The death of Representative Sala Burton on February 1st set off a political free-for-all that ushered in an era of realignment of the city's political structure (see "San Francisco donnybrook," *CJ*, April 1987).

For the first time since 1964, San Francisco was not represented in Congress by someone named Burton. And the last remnants of the once-vaunted "Burton machine" faced a fierce struggle to hold onto their once vast political influence.

The heirs to the liberal Burton legacy — most prominently Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy — lined up behind Nancy Pelosi, a longtime party fund raiser who received the deathbed endorsement of Sala Burton, but who had never held elective office.

Other powerful Democrats — most prominently Molinari and Board of Supervisors President Nancy Walker — threw their support to Supervisor Harry Britt, an openly gay leftist politician who attacked Pelosi for being "coronated" by the party's leaders.

Agnos was caught squarely in the middle.

A close ally of Brown and McCarthy, he leaned toward Pelosi but was forced to stay officially neutral when most of the city's politically powerful gay community papered over past differences and went for Britt. Britt, who earlier had urged Agnos to run for mayor, promptly endorsed Molinari for the job, setting off a fratricidal struggle between gay supporters of the two mayoral candidates that has lasted all year.

The Pelosi-Britt congressional race, narrowly won by Pelosi, also ushered in a period of behind-the-scenes maneuvering and deal-making that spilled over into the mayor's race.

"It's not realignment, it's dealignment," enthused political consultant Richard Schlackman, in the midst of the congressional race. "There are no more permanent operations where you can count on people always being together. Now everybody is going to their own constituency for their own interests and making decisions on a case-by-case basis."

Molinari

Agnos

Despite the widespread perception that a new day was dawning in San Francisco politics, voters in making their choice for mayor were confronted with two of the city's most veteran, best-known politicians as front-runners.

Perhaps because their flaws were as well known as their strengths, neither Molinari nor Agnos was strong enough to dominate the race, a fact that led to endless speculation about a possible darkhorse candidate who would dramatically enter the campaign at the last minute.

The 52-year old Molinari, first elected to the Board of Supervisors in 1971, is a moderate Democrat who began his political career as a conservative Republican and specializes in trying to be all things to all people. Asked to name the greatest accomplishment of his many years in office, Molinari once replied, "I survived."

Running for mayor with a slogan of "Together there's nothing we can't do," Molinari stressed his ability as a compromiser and conciliator — and his endorsement by incumbent Feinstein — more than his position on issues or his vision for the future of the city. A favorite of high-rise developers who rushed to fill his campaign coffers, Molinari insisted he could end years of open warfare between downtown interests and San Francisco's neighborhood movement.

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But his critics pointed to his record of consistent support for the developers who gave him money and complained that his "flexibility" showed nothing but a lack of political spine.

"Jack has no principles," said one neighborhood activist. "There's no guiding light, no point of orientation other than which way the political winds are blowing."

The 49-year old Agnos, by contrast, let everyone know exactly where he stood — sometimes to the point of trying to destroy those who disagreed with him.

"He is one-track minded," said community college board director Julie Tang, who has had several bitter political clashes with Agnos. "He wants to get power and he will do anything to get power."

A former social worker first elected to the Assembly in 1976, Agnos is an energetic and unabashed liberal with a reputation for combativeness and substance on issues like nursing homes, AIDS, housing and homosexual rights.

His original campaign strategy was to run as a Mr. Clean outsider, attacking Molinari as a City Hall insider and tool of developers and big business.

But his plan to campaign on "character" issues collapsed when the *San Francisco Chronicle* revealed that Agnos had failed to pay taxes on a $65,000 sweetheart deal set up by his fellow Greek and patron, Sacramento developer Angelo Tsakopoulos.

The tax story was followed by other disclosures about the connections between Tsakopoulos, a key figure in a development scandal involving former Sacramento County Supervisor Bill Bryan, and Agnos, who had openly bragged that Tsakopoulos was going to make him a rich man.

Shaken by the newspaper stories, Agnos shifted his campaign emphasis to issues. He hammered away at the difference between his clear stands and Molinari's muddled positions, and even wrote an 82-page book that outlined his views on 41 city policies.

"Art stands for something — opening City Hall, bringing the neighborhoods downtown," said political consultant David Townsend. "Molinari's message is 'I've been here 16 years. Dianne says it's my turn.'"

And then there was Boas, the 66-year-old owner of a successful car dealership and former chief administrative officer of San Francisco. Running a campaign funded largely with his own money and punctuated by private outbursts of temper, Boas fired political managers and press secretaries almost as often as he made embarrassing misstatements.

The day he announced his candidacy, Boas proposed sending San Francisco's homeless to Oakland and invited the Oakland A's baseball team to leave the Bay Area to the San Francisco Giants. In short order, he claimed there was a city program to send the homeless to Yolo County (there isn't), infuriated the gay community with some stereotypical remarks ("They're very strong in the areas of design and apparel.") and embarassed himself before a gathering of Jewish voters by promising to "bring home the bacon."

To his credit, Boas hung tough through all the controversy, acting as his own campaign manager and making a virtue of his anger with a series of "I'm mad and not going to take it anymore" television advertisements.

Appealing to Republican and conservative voters, he won the coveted endorsement of former supervisor and current state Senator Quentin Kopp and bitterly attacked Molinari for the city's projected $76 million budget deficit. But as election day drew near, Boas still looked like a long-shot.

"Roger has a self-fulfilling candidacy," sneered one neighborhood leader. "The only reason he's considered a major candidate is that he has a million dollars to spend."

With Agnos the candidate of the left and Molinari running as a centrist, Boas was the only candidate appealing to voters on the right. Many political observers thought the race had room for another major candidate, a citizen-politician type who could win a big vote from moderate homeowners and small business interests in the manner of former Supervisor John Barbagelata, who stunned the city with a second-place finish in the 1975 mayor's race.

Kopp, a blunt-talking independent elected in 1986 to the Legislature after 15 years as a supervisor and one unsuccessful run for mayor, was the most logical choice. After toying with the idea, Kopp finally decided to make good on his campaign promise to serve a full term in the Senate.

City Attorney Louise Renne, frequently derided as "Feinstein's clone," ran an aborted campaign for mayor. Egged on by her talented campaign manager, Clint Reilly, Renne came out swinging at her male foes. She tried to style herself as a woman above the political fray, a public-service princess who was "not one of the big boys" in the words of her campaign slogan.

But after a humiliating public spat with Feinstein and an ill-timed attack on Agnos that backfired, Renne got saddled with the image of a political opportunist and started losing support. After several newspaper stories questioned a personal loan to her campaign, Renne found herself running short of money and moving south in the polls. So she quit the race September 1st.

Others also tried to fill the niche. Public relations consultant Al Baccari ran one of the shortest campaigns in history — quitting barely six weeks after he began. That was topped only by the effort put in by lawyer Joseph Alioto Jr., son of a former mayor, who withdrew four days after announcing his intention to run.

With many voters feeling that the field lacked a first-team candidate, the race boiled down to Agnos, Molinari and Boas.

Despite its big-city problems, San Francisco is small enough geographically so that politicians can reach nearly every voter with strong grassroots campaigns.

Feinstein

Boas

So the city's large network of political clubs, with their activist members willing to volunteer time, money and endorsements to candidates who embrace their cause, have become increasingly important in citywide races.

This year, the clubs also became the site of major struggles between Molinari and Agnos, who pulled every known political trick to win an endorsement for himself or to deny an endorsement to his rival. The battles began in the spring, as business and community organizations in Chinatown, an important source of campaign money, split behind Agnos and Molinari.

The real Tammany Hall-style electioneering was saved for a summer-long series of epic battles for the backing of several gay political clubs, whose memberships faced a difficult choice between Molinari and Agnos, both longtime friends of the homosexual community.

The most frequently-used tactic

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was a simple one: buying votes. When all the members of a club were found to be committed to one candidate or another, operatives of the two campaigns simply went out and found more members, in some cases offering generous financial assistance to recruits willing to cast a ballot the right way.

The biggest beneficiary of all the maneuvering turned out to be the Alice B. Toklas Lesbian/Gay Democratic Club, which quadrupled its 400-person membership roll in the space of a few months.

"It's a political hoax," charged one pro-Agnos club officer, after a heavy recruiting period by the Molinari camp. "They've eliminated any pretense of a fair election."

Such complaints were echoed each time there was another endorsement battle — at the Stonewall Gay Democrat Club, at the National Women's Political Caucus, and at the Black Leadership Forum.

The Black organization's endorsement meeting represented something of a breakthrough in the "buy membership" strategy. Among those voting in that contest were two somewhat baffled 12-year-old girls, who brought new meaning to the concept of "student participation" in politics.

All the partisan *sturm und drang* threatened for a time to obscure the important public policy matters at stake in the 1987 election.

But despite some self-styled media critics, who complained that no issues were being raised in the campaign, any citizen who took the time to read the unprecedented daily coverage by the city's two major newspapers, or to visit one of an equally unprecedented series of near-nightly candidate forums, saw very real substantive differences between the contenders.

The major candidates agreed on some key issues — the need for more funding from every level of government for the AIDS crisis, the need for more mental health programs for many of the homeless and the need for big bond issues to rebuild the city's crumbling public works.

They disagreed on many more.

Agnos opposed a plan to berth the battleship U.S.S. Missouri in San Francisco, supported extending the rent-control law to apartments that became vacant and backed a broad moratorium on destruction of single family houses as part of his detailed proposal for much-needed affordable housing in San Francisco.

Molinari was on the opposite side on all these issues. He also differed with Agnos in supporting a plan to build a new baseball stadium near downtown, in opposing a sweeping initiative that sharply restricted downtown development and in insisting that a city report projecting a $76 million budget deficit was not a major cause for alarm.

And once the other candidates were removed from the election picture, the differences between Molinari and Agnos were likely to become even more apparent — giving voters one of the clearest choices for mayor in years.

"What Art will do is say the future of the city hinges on quality of life issues like development and affordable housing," said political consultant Reilly. "Jack will try to project himself as the heir to the Dianne Feinstein tradition of pragmatic government.

"Art would be a strong ideological mayor with very strong ideas on what he wanted, who would move the special interests and bureaucracy out of the way to achieve them," he added. "Jack would be more of a conciliator of disparate elements who would attempt to compromise."

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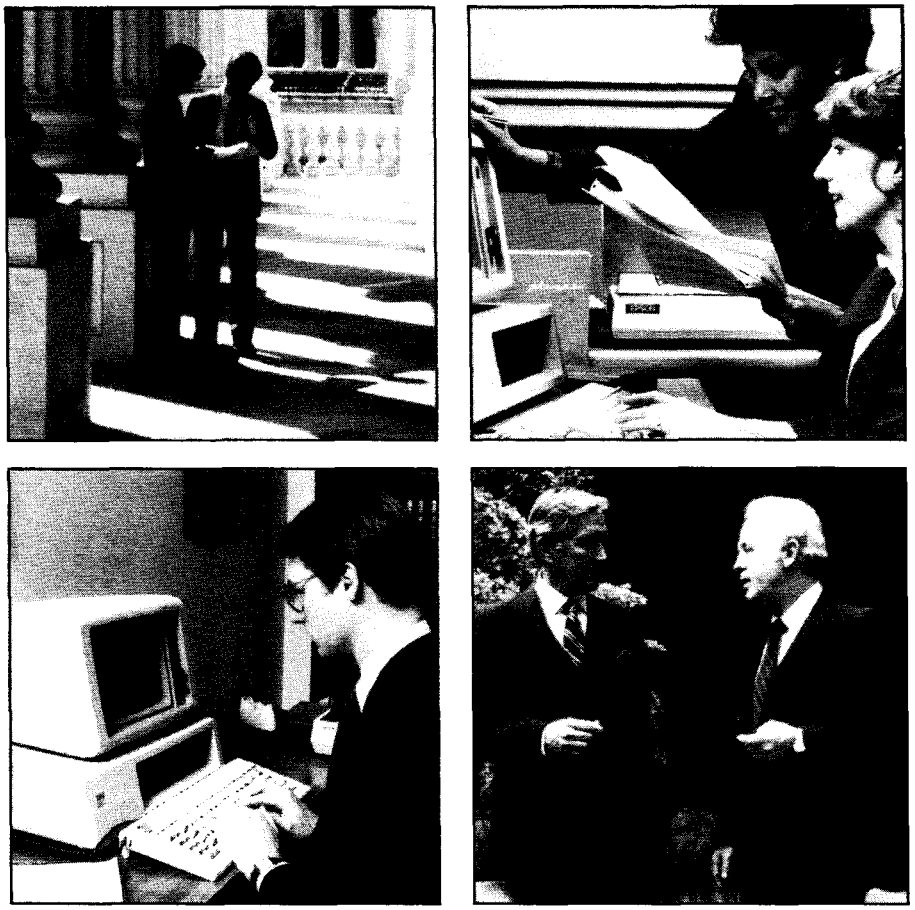

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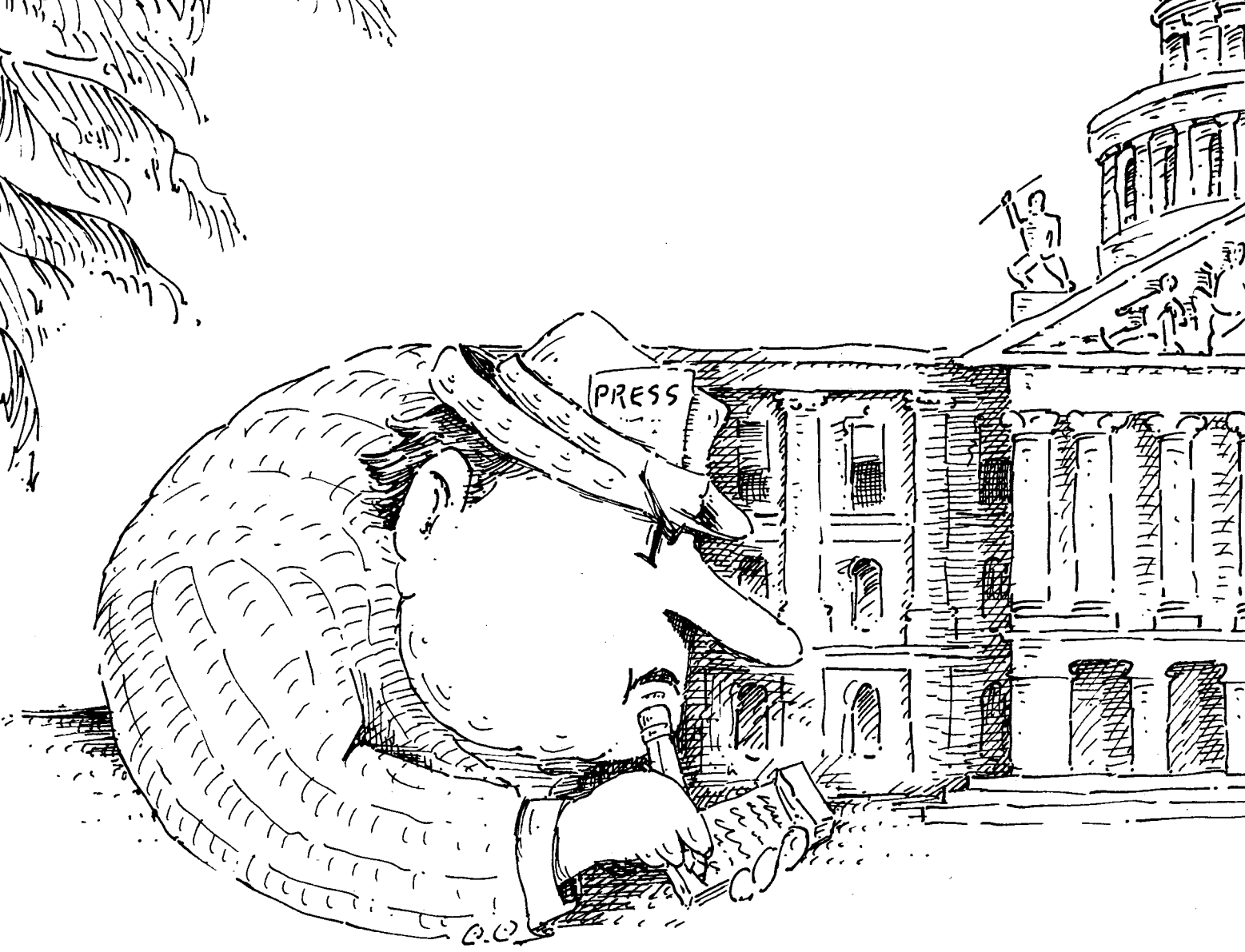

A *California Journal* Survey

How good is press coverage of the state Capitol?

By SHERRY BEBITCH JEFFE

Call it "press-bashing." Call it "cheap shot journalism." Call it "war." Relations between the Sacramento press corps and politicians have become incendiary.

This past legislative session saw bipartisan attacks, waged on the floor of the California Assembly, against press criticism of legislative ethics and campaign fund raising. The *San Jose Mercury News* filed suit to prevent the Fair Political Practices Commission from destroying files on former Assembly Speaker pro Tempore Frank Vicencia, and legislative leaders pushed legislation which would restrict access to those files. At session's end, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown awarded his annual "Fiction Writer of the Year" award to the entire Capitol press corps.

To determine how both press and politicians view the job of the Sacramento press corps, *California Journal* sent questionnaires to 96 credentialed Capitol reporters and others who write about state government and politics, political editors and reporters from electronic media outlets throughout California, 120 legislators and 165 legislative staffers who deal regularly with the press. Overall, 37 percent responded — 42 percent of the press, 29 percent of the legislators, and 41 percent of the staff.

Responses to the *Journal*'s survey indicate that press and politicians have different perceptions about the legisla-

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Ph.D. writes on issues of California state government and politics.

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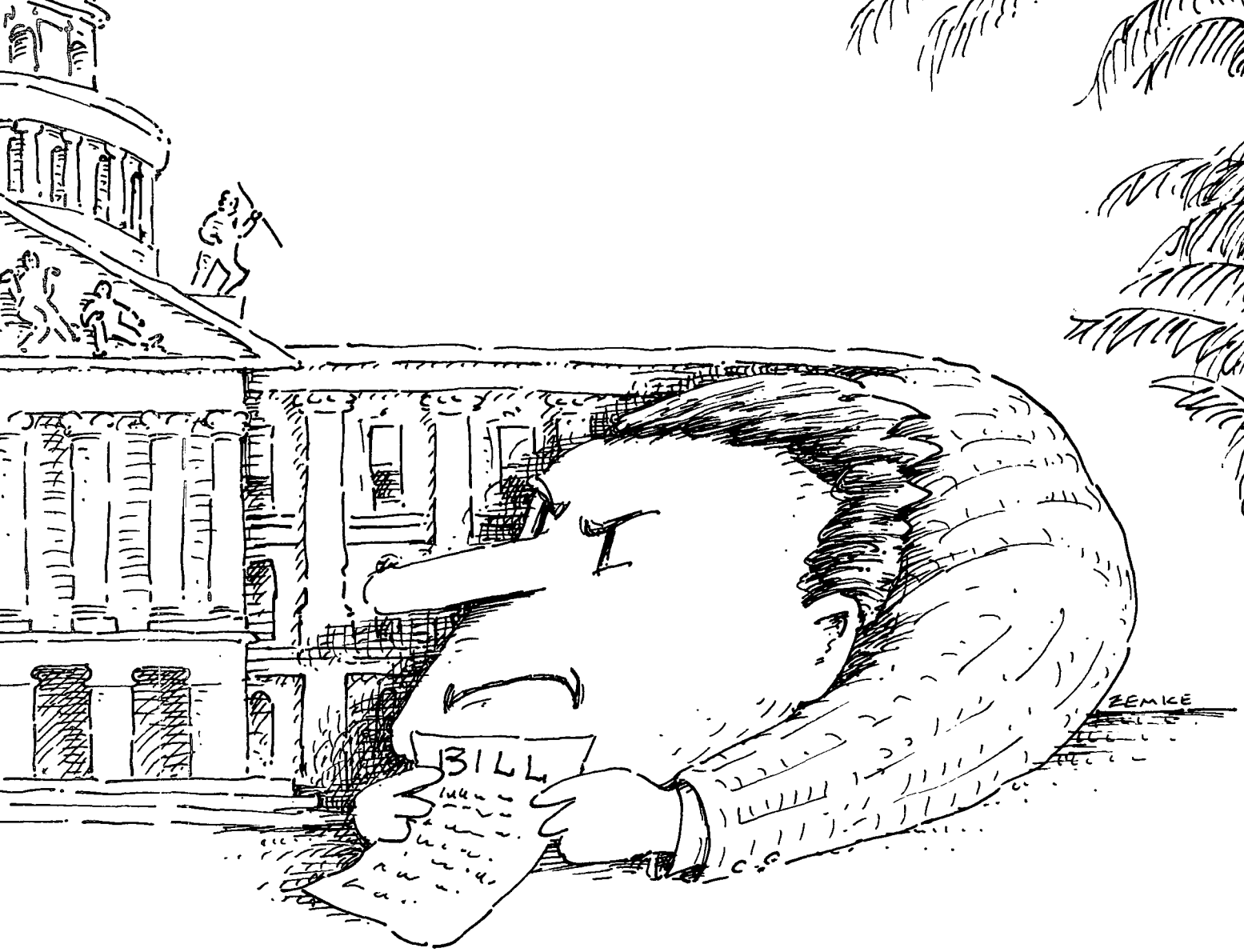

tive press corps and about how well it does its job. Not surprisingly, legislators are more critical of the press than reporters are of themselves. Most interesting, the Legislature's staff, in many instances, is even more critical of the press than are lawmakers.

Lawmakers and their employees see a press corps that allows personal bias to creep into news coverage, and that puts too much emphasis on personality and politics and not enough on policy. And although they complain about the kind of coverage they receive, those working in the state Capitol also complain that there isn't enough coverage.

There was general agreement among all those surveyed that "the job of the Sacramento press corps is to provide a record of legislative debate and policy actions." But legislators are the least likely to agree that the press' job goes beyond that. Only two-thirds of the legislators (compared with 80 percent of the staff and 86 percent of the media) agreed that the press' job "is to raise questions about legislative debate and policy actions." Said one legislator, the primary job of the press corps is "to report what happens" and only "secondarily, why it does or does not happen."

But one reporter insisted, "If I may extend the venerable analogy between lawmaking and sausage making, the role of the press is to insure not only that people know how the sausage is made, but also how it will taste and how digestible (or indigestible) it will be."

Added another reporter, the job of the press corps is not only "to report important facts" but "to ask the right questions" and "to demand access to decision-makers" so that the questions may be answered.

One staffer observed: "Instead of always focusing on floor speeches and high-profile members, more should be reported on behind-the-scenes struggles, utilizing off-the-record information (to the extent possible). Politics *is* a series of deals."

Why is staff closer to the media than to their bosses on this question? Perhaps because, although questions may be asked *to* staffers, they are seldom asked *about* them. Perhaps it is because staffers can be more objective about their bosses' behavior than are their bosses. Donna Wetterer-Payne, administrative assistant to Democratic Assemblyman Jack O'Connell, thinks it is because legislators view policymaking as the "job they were elected to do." It is not the press' bailiwick, she says.

Asked to define the Capitol press corps' role, media respondents frequently used terms like "to report," "to monitor," "to inform," "to act as watchdog for," "to educate" the public (on policy issues, politics and personalities), and "to keep legislators honest."

Said one reporter, "My job is to make available to readers information about what state government does and why it is important and how it affects them, to explain the process, and to profile the interesting people involved in the process. And to expose evil." *Continued on next page*

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Another says the media's job is to "report on actions and inactions of the state Legislature and the executive branch, to search out and expose inequities and discrimination, and to publicize such things as refusing money for crippled and handicapped, the emotionally disturbed, and the poor who have no voice in Sacramento. Elected officials get here by promising to care about people, and they should have that promise re-examined on a daily basis."

When defining the media's job, legislative and staff respondents seem to be more concerned with what the press should not do, like "editorialize" or "slant." One legislator said the media's job is to "report the facts; not to editorialize on the front page. Let the readers judge for themselves; don't lead them to the writer's conclusion."

Legislative staff members were far more severe in their evaluation of the press corps' overall job performance (only 35 percent answered "good") than either legislators (61 percent "good") or press (71 percent "good"). Mostly, the staff thought the press was doing only a fair job (52 percent).

Why, in light of the fireworks between legislators and press, is the staff even more down on the media? Senate staffer Barry Brokaw, who works for Democrat Dan Boatwright, suggested, "The staff runs through the hoops and hurdles, and that's what the press wants to report...but it's not always right. The staff really knows what's going on, and often the press is guessing. They never actually get the lowdown."

The Sacramento Bee's Capitol bureau chief, Bill Endicott, thinks "part of the explanation is that ... the staff is highly political in the first place. In the second place, staff members tend to have individual interests. [They] would tend to be more critical because they are so close to some of these issues, so immersed in them, [and] they just don't see the press show that kind of interest in ... their particular issues ... therefore they equate that with poor coverage."

Although the press is more upbeat about its performance than is staff or the Legislature, reporters' comments qualify that praise. Said one reporter, "It's competent, generally fair, but focused on too few issues."

To put into perspective the job performed by various types of media, respondents were asked to rank them according to how well each covers the Legislature. With the caveat — expressed by several journalists — that "each media has its own strength and weakness and are not strictly comparable," there is general agreement among all groups that newspaper bureaus rank first, wire services second, interpretive columnists third, and television fourth.

Radio got slightly better reviews, but in each group of respondents, over 75 percent did not believe that "considering the level of constituent interest," the state's electronic media "devote reasonable space and emphasis" to legislative coverage. Journalists were particularly harsh in their comments. One argued there "should be three minutes for meteorology and 15 for legislative news — not the other way around."

Said another reporter, "By de-emphasizing Capitol cov-

California's political writers

By FAITH ALCHORN

The political writers for California's 15 largest newspapers are a diverse group, encompassing a wide range of ages, experiences and backgrounds. About the only similarities which can be noted among the journalists are that they overwhelmingly are white males, and that a surprising number are from out of state. Otherwise, each writer has his or her own story and an occasional comment on covering California politics.

At 39, Keith Love claims to be a "rookie" in comparison to fellow *Los Angeles Times* staffer John Balzar. But Love is no newcomer to political journalism. After graduating from New York University in 1970, Love began reporting for the *Richmond* (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch*. There, he covered state news for three years before moving to the *New York Times*, where he worked as a copy editor. In 1979 Love moved to the West Coast and began working for the *Los Angeles Times*, where he started covering politics in 1983.

John Balzar, also 39, attended Valley State College (now California State University, Northridge). While in college Balzar interned with United Press International. That internship led to a job offer with UPI in Sacramento, forcing him to choose between beginning his career and graduating from college.

Balzar

Skelton

Balzar chose the job, a choice that set him on a path to political writing. From UPI Balzar moved to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, then to the *Los Angeles Times*. For the *Times* Balzar has covered some memorable events, among them the campaigns of both Walter Mondale and George Bush, as well as the activities of Governor George Deukmejian. Married, with one daughter, Balzar says he finds himself drawn to writers who make politics interesting — those who write with spirit and insight.

Los Angeles Times Sacramento Bureau Chief George Skelton, 50, got his start covering sports but soon decided that sports were a good escape but not very important. Skelton switched to politics to cover "competition between brains, rather than brawn." Skelton's first job was at the *Ventura Star-Free Press*, where he was an assistant sports editor and a general assignment writer while attending Ventura College. After graduating from San Jose State University in 1959, Skelton began working for the *Sunnyvale Daily Standard* as a local government reporter. In 1960 Skelton moved to United Press International's San Francisco bureau as a general assignment reporter and sports writer. He stayed until 1961, at which point he came to UPI's Sacramento bureau, where he covered the Assembly for five years. From 1966-69 he worked on the staff of the *Sacramento Union*, then returned to UPI as Sacramento bureau chief until 1974. That year Skelton joined the *Los Angeles Times* as a political writer. Skelton was the paper's Los Angeles bureau chief in 1978-79, and in 1979-80 he was in charge of the political desk, dealing mostly with the presiden-

Faith Alchorn is a California Journal *intern.*

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erage, broadcasters have helped improve the focus of newspapers. But they've also forced people to get legislative news almost exclusively from the papers. As a result, when something important happens, they are following rather than leading."

Particularly indicted for abandoning the Capitol were Los Angeles television stations. One journalist ranked among Sacramento's worst journalists "any and all LA TV people" because they "don't even try to cover or understand anything that's not sexy."

Stations mentioned as exceptions to the "outstandingly lousy job' done by electronic media include KRON in San Francisco and KCRA and KOVR, both in Sacramento. KCRA's Steve Swatt is the only electronic journalist ranked among the best.

Legislators tended to be kinder to electronic journalists. One insisted that "TV and radio do as much as one can expect. Legislative news in detail can only be properly addressed in print." But another labeled television "irresponsible" for not covering the Capitol "on a daily basis. Good TV investigative reporting does more to reform the process than anything else."

Opinion was more dramatically split over the adequacy of newspaper coverage. Almost two-thirds of the press respondents felt that a reasonable amount of space and emphasis is given to legislative coverage in California's newspapers. But over half of the legislator and staff respondents disagreed. Several journalists felt coverage adequately reflects the level of constituent interest. But one added, "It's hard to tell if constituents aren't interested — or papers and TV think they are not."

Others felt that many papers "zero in on a few major issues and pass over many critical ones that are less 'sexy.'" And one reporter argued that the "space devoted to legislative activities is determined solely by how many inches of space Weinstock's or Macy's buys, and this procedure is inappropriate. An editor is almost powerless to expand the press run to accommodate all the news."

Political respondents tended to see constituents as "more interested than the press corps gives them credit for," arguing that "better reporting would create greater interest."

Said one legislator, "It is a simplistic assumption to assume that the public is not interested in legislative issues. More attention needs to be directed to making the connection between legislative action and its potential impact, both positive and negative."

Asked to agree or disagree with the observation that "the Sacramento press corps spends too much time on politics and not enough on policy," only 38 percent of the press sample agreed with the statement. On the other hand, 68 percent of the legislators and 80 percent of the staff agreed.

Although *The Bee*'s Endicott disagrees with that criticism, he sees it as "legitimate." "The simple explanation is that politics is more fun." Reporters "would much rather be

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tial campaign. From 1981 to 1985 Skelton was a White House correspondent for the *Times*, then later in 1985 he returned to Sacramento as the paper's Capitol bureau chief.

San Francisco Chronicle Sacramento reporter Steve Weigand received an English degree from Santa Clara University, then went on to San Diego State University where he earned a Master's in Journalism. After graduating, Weigand began working for the *San Diego Tribune*, where he stayed six years, covering city hall and the political beat. Now in his seventh year with the *Chronicle*, Weigand says that his political writing evolved from covering sports; he realized that politics involves the same elements of competition.

Weigand

Gunnison

Rob Gunnison is a graduate of C.W. Post College in Greenvale, New York. Beginning in 1973, Gunnison worked for United Press International, and for the last two years has been a Sacramento-based political writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

In 1972 Larry Peterson began writing for the *Orange County Register*, first covering city news, county government, and the coastal commission. For the past 10 years he has been the *Register*'s political reporter. Peterson, 44, attended the University of Southern California, and then California State University, Fullerton. A political science major, he became interested in journalism while working on the student newspaper. Prior to working for the *Register*, Peterson wrote for the *Chula Vista Star News*, a semi-weekly newspaper.

San Jose Mercury News political writer Phil Trounstine was born July 30, 1949, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and attended both Stanford and San Jose State universities. At Stanford, Trounstine studied political science, psychology, and philosophy; at San Jose State he concentrated on journalism. Trounstine, who was active in the Vietnam anti-war movement, also edited the *Spartan Daily*, San Jose State's campus newspaper. After graduating in 1975, Trounstine worked as a Pulliam Fellow at the *Indianapolis Star*. The *Star* hired him at the end of his fellowship and he eventually became the paper's lead state government writer. Trounstine co-authored a book entitled "Movers and Shakers," a study of community power contrasting Indianapolis with San Jose. In 1978 Trounstine moved to the *San Jose Mercury News*, covering local and regional issues and writing editorials for the first three years. Married, with two children, Trounstine cited as his biggest story a life history of Jim Jones, which he wrote while working with a team of three other writers.

San Diego Union political writer John Marelius is a graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles. Marelius spent 14 years on the staff of the *Los Angeles Daily News* before switching to the *Union* about a year ago.

Linda Breakstone graduated from the University of Southern California with a degree in International Relations and Journalism. She also did graduate work in military strategy, which she says really helps when covering presidential campaigns. "Politics is all strategy," Breakstone says, and according to her, it helps a reporter to have the same practical skills as a campaign manager. While still in college, Breakstone worked part time for City News Service, and also for the college radio station. In 1978 Breakstone started at the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* and has been there since. With three dogs and a calico cat,

Trounstine

Peterson

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out covering politics and campaigns than some dry legislative hearing on tort reform. That's just the nature of the job." But Endicott also points out that a political emphasis in reporting is necessary because "everything that goes on around here is politics."

Similarly, the press doesn't go along with the Capitol perception that "the press places too much emphasis on the coverage of personalities and not enough on substantive issues." Only 22 percent of the press respondents agreed with that assessment, compared with 61 percent of the legislators and 74 percent of the staff.

Said one staffer, the press "should provide in-depth coverage of all important issues, not limited to lawmakers being arrested for drunken driving." Noted another, "There should be more of the positive instead of the negative. Personalities of individuals aside, actual accomplishments in policy areas should be more prominent."

There is also a major divergence of opinion over whether "press coverage of the California Legislature is objective." Almost 95 percent of the press respondents think it is, but 58 percent of the legislators and 51 percent of the staff disagreed. Seventy-one percent of the staffers and 48 percent of the legislators either agreed or strongly agreed that press coverage of the California Legislature "tends to be slanted according to the bias of the individual reporter." Only 14 percent of the press corps agreed with that observation.

Even fewer media respondents (8 percent) felt that legislative coverage "tends to be slanted according to the editorial bias of the newspaper or station." Interestingly, when evaluating the quality of coverage, several reporters argued that individual editors are important in influencing the caliber of reporting. Observed one, "Editors and newspaper management, not individual reporters, make the decisions on what to cover and how to cover it...Why not ask about management of the news?"

Said another, "Print media usually do the best reporting, but they are not responsible for how the re-write editors screw it all up and in the course of re-write add in or subtract important facts."

Each group agrees that the Sacramento press corps "takes the time to understand how the legislative process works." Again, staffers appear more cynical than do legislators. Said one staffer, reporters "think they know the process, but ... they really don't." Another suggests, "Press corps members should take sabbaticals working in campaigns, legislative or district offices. They are all observers, watchers. They know little of the scenes they cover."

The press respondents are again most positive in their evaluation. One reporter observed, "Sometimes I am very impressed with the knowledge of colleagues here in the Capitol — especially those that have been here a number of years — on complex issues like water and prisons."

Evaluating the accuracy of media coverage of the California Legislature, legislators and staff were again more criti-

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Breakstone, 35, lives in a Malibu house overlooking the ocean.

Tupper Hull, Sacramento bureau chief for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, began in journalism as editor of the *Rifle Telegram* in Rifle, Colorado. Hull handled everything from writing to typesetting at the weekly paper, which he terms a "one-man operation." After

Breakstone

Hull

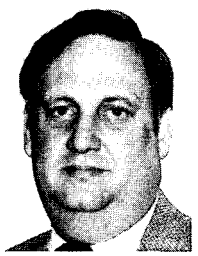
leaving the Telegram, Hull worked on the *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel* in Grand Junction, Colorado, then moved to the *Houston Post* in Houston, Texas. At the *Post*, Hull spent three years working on Galveston Island before moving into the newsroom in Houston where he remained for seven years. While in Houston, Hull was a general assignment city desk reporter and also wrote on labor issues. After spending one year as a general assignment reporter at the *Dallas Times-Herald*, Hull joined the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*. Hull, 36, graduated from the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1972 with a degree in Political Science. He is married, with three children ages 10, 7, and 5, and one dog.

The Sacramento Bee's Capitol bureau chief, Bill Endicott, has been with the paper two years. Before joining *The Bee*, Endicott was with the *Los Angeles Times* for 17 years, the last two as its Sacramento bureau chief. Endicott, 51, received a Political Science degree from Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. After college, he joined the Marines, but has been involved with journalism ever since leaving the Marine Corps. Endicott is married and has three children.

McClatchy Newspapers' political editor Martin Smith has been in the newspaper business since 1954, starting in Oregon at the *Coos Bay Times* (now the *World*). From there he moved to the Yakima, Washington, *Morning Herald*, where he worked as the paper's city editor. Smith has been with the McClatchy papers for 30 years, the last 23 in Sacramento. For a time, Smith was city editor for *The Modesto Bee*, then spent three years as managing editor of *The Sacramento Bee*. Now, Smith writes a column and occasional news stories for all of McClatchy's California papers. Smith, 57, is married and has two daughters. One is an electrical engineer and one works for the Legislature.

The Capitol's most widely read columnist, Dan Walters of *The Sacramento Bee*, chose to forego both a high school diploma and a college scholarship in favor of a journalism career. Walters has been a journalist for 28 years, starting as a 16-year-old copy boy at the now-defunct *Humboldt Times* in 1960. When he left the *Times* in 1963 to join the *Klamath Falls Herald and News*, Walters was already a reporter. At the *Herald and News*, Walters began as a reporter and then was named copy editor. In 1966 Walters became managing editor of the *Hanford Sentinel* in Hanford, California. At 22, Walters was the youngest managing editor in the country when he began working for the *Sentinel*. Walters moved back to the *Klamath Falls Herald and News* in 1971 as managing editor and stayed there until 1973 when he went to work for the

Endicott



Walters

Humboldt Times-Standard, which had absorbed the *Humboldt Times*. While managing editor at the *Times-Standard*, Walters found himself embroiled in an "I quit-You're fired" situation. He then left and began working for the *Sacramento Union*. Walters began in the *Union*'s Stockton bureau, later moving to Sacramento. By the end of Walters'

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cal. Ninety-five percent of the press respondents indicated that coverage was very accurate (19 percent) or accurate (76 percent), as compared with 74 percent of the legislators and 69 percent of the staff. Not a single legislator and less than 2 percent of the staff rated media coverage as very accurate.

Perhaps the most positive comment came from a legislator who observed, "The majority of reporters, particularly in print, check their sources, provide balanced reporting, and reasonably convey the events to the public."

One staffer felt coverage was inaccurate and "ignorance and laziness, too, often control the elements of a story." Another felt "accuracy varies with the news outlet." A third, labeling coverage "very inaccurate," insisted, "Coverage is slanted toward the left of the political spectrum. Liberal policies and politicians (except for Willie Brown) are rarely, if ever, questioned."

One reporter indicated, "The media do get it wrong. But not as often as the Willie Browns or Steve Peaces would like everyone to believe." Added another, "Mistakes are made, we all make them — that's inevitable when the true agenda, the ulterior motive, is purposely hidden, as it often is."

There is general agreement among survey respondents about media ethics. The press (92 percent), again, thinks most highly of itself, but over three-fourths of the legislators and staff respondents also agreed that "the ethical standards of California legislative reporters are high."

There is far less agreement on the quality of interpretive reporting done on the California Legislature. And the intensity of opinion tended to be high on this issue. Forty-nine percent of the press rated the quality good (3 percent rated it excellent), but only 32 percent of the legislators and 25 percent of staff respondents gave it a similar rating. No legislator and only 3 percent of the staff rated the quality of interpretive reporting as excellent. Conversely, only 5 percent of the media, as compared with 23 percent of the legislative and staff respondents rated that coverage "poor."

One reporter felt that interpretive reporting "can always be done better, but if you compare today's stories with those done 20 years ago, you can see that readers today know much more of the why and how."

But another observed, "Most interpretive reporting tends to rehash old themes, as columnists seem to compete for the title of 'most grizzled veteran'. As a result, issues get lost in 'under-the-dome' machinations, furthering the view that Sacramento is just a playground for politicos."

The most common complaint, even among those who rated the quality high, concerned the lack of interpretive reporting. A legislator commented, "The fast-breaking coverage is very accurate. The mood and analytic pieces are either weak or non-existent." Some interpretive reporters, according to one staffer, "are nothing more than sophisticated Ann Landers."

Politicians and press have divergent views on whether media coverage has improved over the past five years. About

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nine-year tenure at the *Union*, he was their Capitol bureau chief and was also writing a daily column, which he started in 1981. In 1984 Walters joined *The Sacramento Bee* as a political columnist. He also writes some longer pieces for *The Bee*'s "Forum" section. Walters, 44, and his wife Diana, a sculptor specializing in political caricatures, have been married 25 years. The couple has two daughters one a graduate of California State Polytechnic Institute and the other attending the University of California at Berkeley.

Meibert

Schmidt

Oakland Tribune Capitol bureau chief Virgil Meibert, 52, has been with the paper since 1963. Meibert began covering local issues and politics, then wrote editorials for approximately seven years. In 1973 he was made Capitol bureau chief and moved to Sacramento. Prior to joining the *Tribune*, Meibert worked for the *Hayward Review* for two years. A native of Phoenix, Meibert became interested in journalism while editing sports for his high school newspaper. Also during high school, he worked as a stringer for the *Arizona Republic*. After graduating, Meibert began working for the *Republic* as a copy boy at night, attending Arizona State University during the day. While still in college Meibert joined the Marine Corps and, after a stint out of school, returned to Arizona State and earned a journalism degree, graduating in 1958. Meibert is married, and he and his wife Carole have two grown sons.

Twenty-six-year-old Vicky Haddock, political writer for the *Oakland Tribune*, received her journalism degree from the University of Missouri. Upon arrival in California, Haddock worked for the Sparks newspaper chain, initially as a general assignment reporter. Eventually she began covering politics, and continued to do so for Sparks for three years. In early 1986 Haddock moved to the *Oakland Tribune*.

John Jacobs, political writer for the *San Francisco Examiner*, earned his Bachelor's in American Studies from the University of California at Berkeley, a Master's in American History from New York University at Stoney Brook, and a Master's in Journalism from the University of California at Berkeley. Jacobs worked as the Berkeley stringer for the *New York Times* before interning and then becoming a reporter on the staff of *The Washington Post*. In 1978 Jacobs moved to the *Examiner*, where he has covered such events as the Deukmejian-Bradley race in 1982 and the 1984 presidential election. Jacobs participated in a John S. Knight professional journalism fellowship in 1984-85 at Stanford University, then returned to the *Examiner* as chief political writer. Jacobs, 36, has a wife who works for the *Oakland Tribune*, two children, and is the co-author of a book called "Raven: The Untold Story of the Reverend Jim Jones and His People".

Another political writer for the *San Francisco Examiner*, Carl Irving, has a journalism degree from Stanford University and a Master's in Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley. Irving began his journalism career at the *Woodland Democrat*, then spent a period of time on the staff of the *Sacramento Union*. He also worked for the now-defunct *Washington Star* before spending five years in Munich, West Germany, with Radio Free Europe. Upon his return to the United States, Irving joined the staff of

Capps

Marelius

Continued on next page

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60 percent of the reporters say it has improved over what it was five years ago, but about 58 percent of the legislators and staff who responded said coverage has not improved.

There seems to be some perception that the quantity of coverage may have increased, but not the quality, and that the commitment to Capitol news has decreased. Said one legislator, "Most organizations have reduced their commitment to Capitol news, and that is reflected in less space dedicated to news out of Sacramento, coverage of fewer issues, a predominant focus on popular issues (drugs, sex, violent crimes) and less attention to 'thematic' long-term issues."

According to another, "Political context has been added — that's a plus — but in doing so, most media don't devote enough time to simply reporting what's happening step-by-step. No one is the paper of record anymore."

Speaker Brown told *The Sacramento Bee* editorial board "that by almost every measure, legislative operations have greatly improved...with the glaring exception of how legislative news is reported.

"The quality of coverage is far worse," Brown said. "The Woodward-Bernstein mentality has screwed up the information-delivery system. Journalists (today) start out with the idea that elected officials are bad people."

How different is that from what legislators have been saying about each other? What we have seen in California — as elsewhere — over the past several years is an increasingly polarized, politicized system of government. Much has been made of the decline of civility, the lack of ability — or desire — of public officials to put partisanship aside to "reason together" for the public good.

In this system, the survey shows, are players who view their jobs — and everybody else's — from their own particular perspectives — and sometimes with rancor. That happens in an adversarial relationship, like that of press and politicians in a democracy.

In Sacramento, tensions are running high, fueled by a divided government, the life-or-death politics of an impending reapportionment, and the campaign money explosion. Clashes between politicians and the media reflect all that. There is a clear relationship between the Capitol environment and reporting. When the legislative process becomes more politicized, when elected officials don't do much policy-making, reporting emphasizes politics. When policy is emphasized, as it was during the last week of session when tax conformity, tax rebates, transit reorganization and other major issues were addressed, policy matters are reported.

When the political system is changed to allow elected officials to devote more time to policy issues, when leaders decide that policy is what they want and ought to do, when partisanship and money no longer rule Sacramento, then, perhaps, the Capitol news corps will fulfill the politicians' vision of what the press ought to be doing.

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the *Oakland Tribune*, then became press officer for the University of California. In 1970 he returned to newspapers with the *Examiner*, first covering higher education and environmental issues. Since 1974 he has written on political issues. Irving is married and has two children.

Steven Capps is a Sacramento native who now covers politics for the *San Francisco Examiner*. Capps, 34, graduated from California State University, Sacramento, with a major in journalism. His father owned Capitol News Service. Capps worked at the *Auburn Journal* for three years, then moved to a small paper in Vacaville before taking a job with United Press International in San Diego, where he covered general news. While at UPI, Capps also worked in their Las Vegas bureau for a time. In 1980 Capps joined the *San Francisco Examiner* and began working in Sacramento. He likes Sacramento because he is a "fishing fanatic." His cat, JD, is the biggest in the neighborhood, he claims.

Fresno Bee political writer Jim Boren, 37, received his Bachelor's in Journalism from California State University and has worked for the newspaper since 1969. He started as a general assignment reporter and later covered education and special projects. For the last seven years, however, Boren has been a political writer. Since he is the Fresno paper's only political reporter, he covers all levels of government and politics, from city council to the presidency.

Riverside Press-Enterprise Capitol Bureau Chief James Richardson, 34, graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1975 with a double major of History and Anthropology. He then began graduate work, also at UCLA, but did not remain to complete the degree. While at UCLA, Richardson was managing editor of the *Daily Bruin*, the campus newspaper. After leaving UCLA, Richardson worked for the *Press-Enterprise*, reporting on the courts, city hall, local politics, and the environment. In 1983 he joined the staff of the *San Diego Union*, and stayed there three years. During that period, Richardson was the *Union*'s lead reporter on the Olympics held in Los Angeles. After the Olympic Games, Richardson began writing on local politics. Richardson returned to the *Press-Enterprise* as Capitol bureau chief in the summer of 1985.

Dan Smith, 30, has been on the staff of the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* since 1984. For the last two years, Smith has written on politics and government for the paper, but he started as a city hall reporter. A 1980 graduate of Ohio State University, Smith's first journalism job was in 1978, covering the Ohio Legislature for Capitol News Service, whose largest client was the *Youngstown Vindicator*. From there, Smith moved to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, then on to the *Yuma Daily Sun* in Arizona, before ending up in his current position in Riverside.

Long Beach Press-Telegram Sacramento reporter Bob Schmidt, 59, got his first job covering sports for the *Pasadena Star-News* while attending Occidental College. After graduation he entered the Army and, for two years, edited sports for *Stars and Stripes* in Japan. Upon his return, Schmidt was a general assignment reporter for the *Alhambra Post-Advocate* before working as city editor of the *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*. In 1962 Schmidt moved to the *Press Telegram*. During his first five years with the paper, Schmidt covered the courts, then for six months reported on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. He moved to Sacramento in 1967 to write on politics for the *Press Telegram*. He is married to Jennifer Kerr, an Associated Press reporter.

Rick Shaughnessy, 29, political writer for the *San Diego Tribune*, is a native of Detroit who received a Bachelor's in both Journalism and Economics from Wayne State University in Detroit. Shaughnessy got his start at the *North Idaho Press* in Wallace, Idaho, which he says was the smallest daily newspaper in the United States. He covered the Idaho State Legislature for the *Press*, then moved to the *Idaho Weekly Business Reporter*. In 1982 Shaughnessy started with *The Idahonian* in Moscow, Idaho, then joined the *Times-News* in Twin Falls, Idaho, as a political reporter. From the *Times-News*, Shaughnessy moved to New Mexico as a city hall reporter for the *Albuquerque Journal*. In October of 1985 Shaughnessy began working for the *San Diego Tribune* as a political writer.

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The good, the bad, and the in-between

Who does the best job of covering the Capitol and who does the worst? The first question is easier to answer than the second. Despite the rancor in the Capitol air, politicians and press alike were hesitant to hurl brickbats at specific newspapers.

One reporter asked, "How can the work of the *Oakland Tribune* reporter be compared to the work of the Riverside (*Press- Enterprise*) reporter? Who reads both? And even if someone in Sacramento did, how could it be known which paper had the better editors?"

These are valid questions. But if survey respondents were reluctant to pick the worst, there was little hesitation naming the best. Among newspapers, the ranking was:

The Sacramento Bee 117
Los Angeles Times 111
San Jose Mercury News 47

All three groups that responded to the survey — journalists, legislators and legislative staff — ranked these three as best, and in the same order.

To a great extent, all of the rankings are a measure of "identity" rather than a true evaluation of quality. The survey's respondents all work in Sacramento, where they all read *The Sacramento Bee*. The *Los Angeles Times*, because of its more than one million readers, has the most clout of any of the state's newspapers. The state's smaller papers, no matter what their quality, cannot compete.

But the best were not without criticism. *The Sacramento Bee* was faulted for a decline in investigative reporting and objectivity. Said one reporter, "*The Sacramento Bee* coverage, on which most of us used to rely, has deteriorated badly in recent years. If it's not gubernatorial politics, *The Bee* is hardly interested. No more exposés."

Bill Endicott, *The Bee*'s Sacramento bureau chief, responded to that criticism as "ludicrous on its face," adding, "I think too many people equate investigative reporting with the idea that you catch a legislator with his hand in the till and get him thrown in jail...Have we put anybody in jail? We haven't. Have we broken a lot of stories which have exposed a lot of things that have gone on around here? Yes, we have. That, in my view, is a form of investigative reporting."

The *Los Angeles Times* was faulted for not doing what it should do with the resources that it has, and for avoiding complicated stories. Said a legislative staffer, "Some of the *LA Times* bureau guys seem lazy — only reporting the big (i.e. easy) stories..."

The *Times*' Sacramento bureau chief, George Skelton, labeled the charge that the *Times* avoids complicated stories as "bullshit" and cites stories the paper has done on Proposition 65, budget and tax issues and the inner workings of the late Treasurer Jesse Unruh's campaign fund raising. As for the complaint that the *Times* does not use enough of its resources, Skelton said, "We can't devote the whole newspaper to just coverage of state politics. The readers just aren't that interested in it. It comes down to we've got so much space and so much room to allocate for state news. You pick your shots."

Far fewer respondents ranked the worst newspapers. One staffer labeled the question "difficult to respond to [because] most papers aren't intentionally bad, just not well informed or staffed appropriately."

The ranking was:

San Francisco Chronicle 42
Sacramento Union 33
San Diego Union 15

In this case, all three groups agreed on the *Chronicle*'s position as the worst newspaper for Capitol coverage, and the *Sacramento Union* was in the top three for each group as well. But it was the votes of legislative staff that put the *San Diego Union* in third place. The press respondents did not list this paper in the top three, instead substituting the *Los Angeles Daily News*. Legislators had the *San Diego Union*, *Los Angeles Times* and *San Jose Mercury News* tied for third place as the worst at Sacramento coverage.

Said one reporter, "The *Sacramento Union* comes out deficient not because of the quality of reporters, which is high, but because a Sacramento paper should have a larger capital staff and should do more in-depth stuff than the *Union* does."

Said another, "The *Chronicle* has the resources and circulation base to do much a better job. Their average is okay, but [coverage] is too limited for their size and importance."

The *Chronicle*'s Sacramento bureau chief, Steve Weigand, said the two-member bureau does as much as it can with its resources. He also said that "newspapers tend to have an image, and once the image is established in somebody's mind it's never going to change." And the *Chronicle*'s image is definitely a problem. "The *Chronicle* is the paper that runs 'Alligator eats three on subway' on page one. That's the image that it's had since the Fifties and that it's going to have no matter what happens in the next 20 years," Weigand said.

Chronicle Assistant Managing Editor/Metro Alan Mutter disputes the findings of the poll. "We're putting out a solid, substantial, pertinent newspaper, and a feisty one at that."

He acknowledges that the paper does not have the same space to devote to Sacramento news as *The Bee* or *Times*, but says the paper is being written for a different audience. "Our job is not to be the newspaper of record for Sacramento. *The Bee* is," said Mutter.

As for the best and worst reporters, respondents were truly reticent to "name names." Too few respondents ranked the worst journalists to make the results reliable. Calling the question "tasteless," one reporter warned, "The results of a question like this — if published — could get someone fired."

The only significant finding was that *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters, who has made a career of revealing legislative ineptness, was ranked among the three best journalists and among the three worst journalists by all groups.

A legislator described Walters as "very talented" but "too often overcome by his own cynicism."

Walters is not surprised by his unique ranking. "I fully expected to come in first and last because that's the nature of the thing I'm doing. If there's a hard-breaking news story going on, I try to get to it first and, in that sense, it's reporting...the other half is commentary, the bottom paragraph that says the nasty things they don't want me to say.

"I hope I'm going to come in first when it comes to breaking stories and being on top of things, and I hope I'm going to come in last in many cases because I want to be irritating and provacative." -- *Sherry Bebitch Jeffe*

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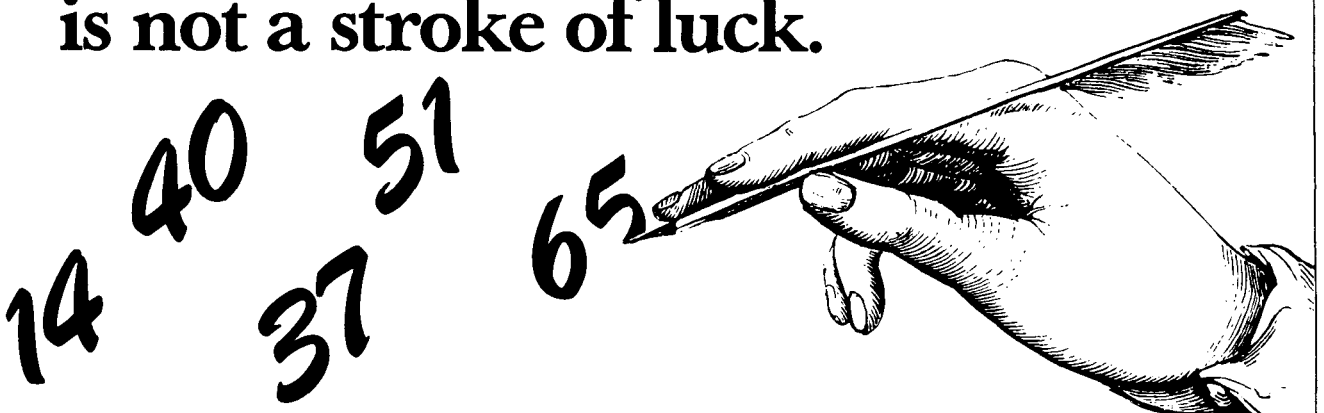

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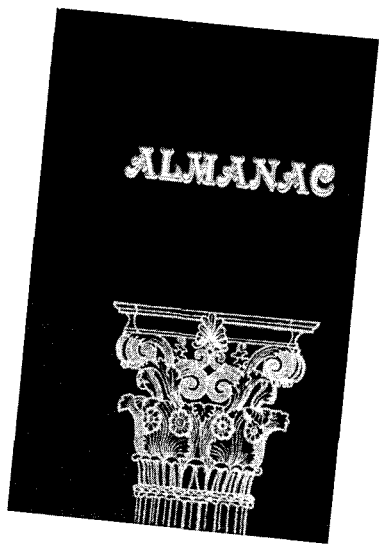

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A spate of small news services covers the Capitol

By STEVEN A. CAPPS

My first encounter with the news business didn't come during a class field trip to the local daily paper. I wasn't drawn to the profession by watching Jack Lemmon in "The Front Page" or reading a novel about a heroic reporter crusading against evil.

No, my first memory of the news business is of a dingy office in the Capitol. I was about 10 years old, it was a summer afternoon and my first assignment was stuffing envelopes. My boss that day was my father. I knew he was a newspaperman, but until then that had only meant my dad often worked late, spent plenty of weekends "down at the office" and had a job that was somehow different from that of most fathers.

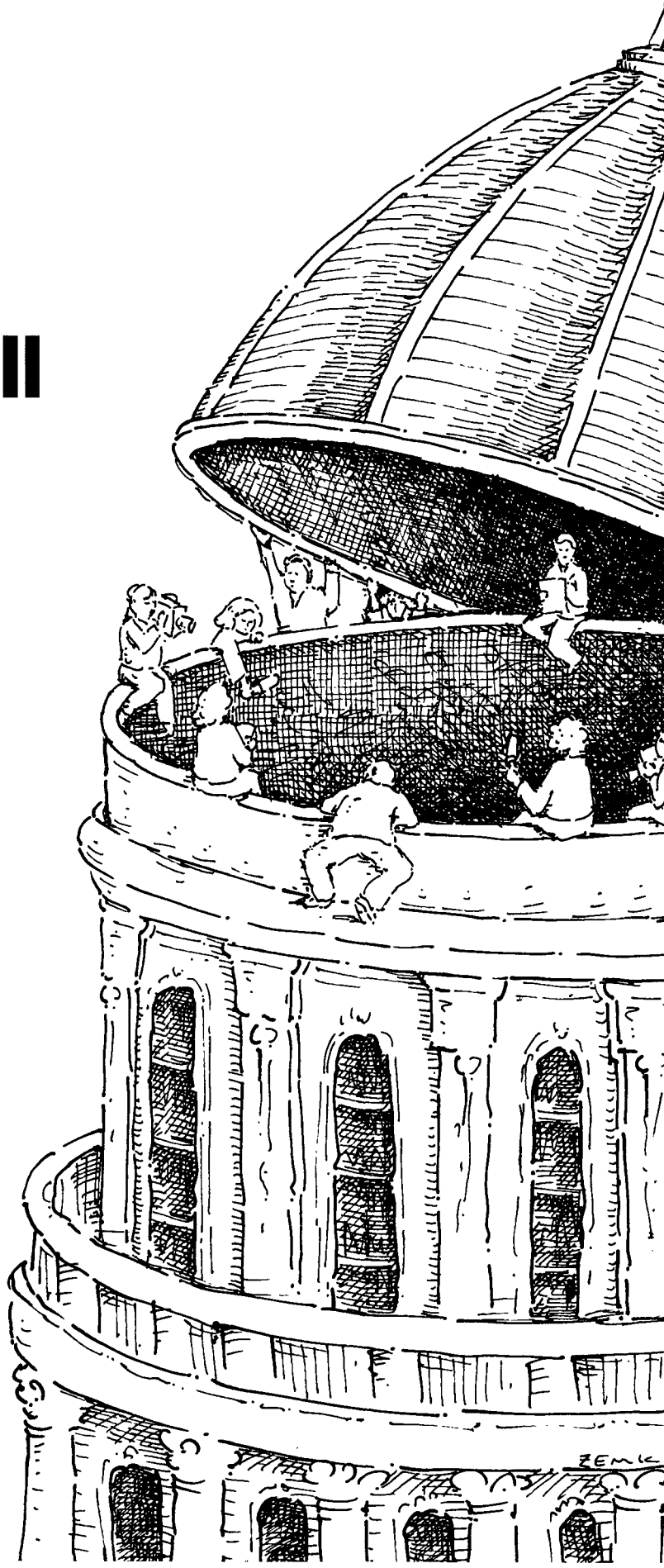
He was a partner in an independent news service. And on that summer afternnon I was stuffing copies of his stories into envelopes bound for his clients, mostly small newspapers around California.

After working for United Press in Sacramento for several years, he had decided to become his own boss. For reporters who cover the Capitol today — whether they work for television, radio or newspapers — it is an idea that has not lost its allure.

"Basically, the role that we have is fitting the needs of papers that cannot afford to have bureau news," said Regina Adams, owner, founder and sole employee of Golden State Minority News, a new capital-based, independent news service catering to minority newspapers.

Specialized operations like Adams' have come and gone in Sacramento as reporters and editors recognized the need for coverage of issues overlooked by more "mainstream" newspapers, or attempted to serve those news outlets which could not afford to have their own full-time reporters in Sacramento.

"We do for the little newspapers what United Press and



Steven A. Capps is Capitol correspondent for the San Francisco Examiner.

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AP do for the big boys," said Jerry Goldberg, who travels between Los Angeles and Sacramento as a reporter and editor for Capitol News Service, the oldest independent news service in Sacramento. The service has changed hands several times since its inception about 40 years ago. Now it is owned by Fred Kline, noted for his conservative politics.

Today, the Capitol is seeing a renewed interest in independent coverage. *The Sacramento Bee* and its sister newspapers in Fresno and Modesto are now distributing a daily report via AP called McClatchy News Service. In recent months two independent television news services have been established in Sacramento where once there was none. And political newsletters, in which readers hope to find the "inside story," seem to be growing in both popularity and acceptance.

"I try to find things that sometimes fall between the cracks with newspaper coverage," said Bud Lembke, publisher of one called *Political Pulse,* as he echoed a theme common to independent news operations.

According to the Legislature's latest list of accredited media representatives in Sacramento, half of the Capitol press corps works for newspapers with established Capitol bureaus. There are 16 reporters and photographers representing television stations, although today only one station in California — KRON of San Francisco — maintains a full-time Capitol bureau away from its homebase. There are three accredited radio reporters, 21 wire service reporters or photographers and five magazine writers or editors. Only seven reporters or photographers are listed as representatives of so-called "alternative" or independent news-gathering operations.

The latest newspaper service to come to Sacramento is Regina Adams' Golden State Minority News service. After graduating from the University of Pacific in Stockton in 1983, Adams' first newspaper job was for *The Sacramento Bee's "Neighbors"* section. She then spent a year working on a local public affairs show for a Sacramento television station, worked for Capitol News Service and last year moved to a similar, though short-lived, independent news service. Then she went off on her own.

"From working in the Capitol, I noticed there was a lack of minority reporters and women reporters," said Adams, who is Black. She said the concept was "a wire service geared toward minorities."

She started the service in January 1987 and immediately signed up 12 newspapers as clients. They are all minority newspapers, most of them weekly, and she calls her rates "surprisingly low."

Like most independent reporters, Adams uses her own judgment to determine what stories would be of interest to her clients. But she also is subject to special requests — a staple for self-employed reporters hoping to satisfy current clients and attract new ones. She tries to mail her reports every Wednesday and customizes each package to the specific client. "If the newspaper is in one geographical area, then I have to gear it to that area," she said. "If it's Black, or a Hispanic paper, then the issue is different sometimes."

Because Adams is the sole employee of her service, she also must spend time away from the news.

"I try and meet all my clients and potential clients in person, which means a lot of traveling," she said. Most people she approaches think the news service is "a good idea. Some of them do get different wire services but they're not tailor-made to the newspaper."

Her biggest problem is that "a lot of the papers are small

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papers and some of them are financially strapped. I can't charge them a lot of money for the service because they can't afford it.

"But it's never been my focus in my news service to make lots of money because it's not going to happen," Adams said. "I think most people who go into journalism don't go into it to become rich."

Still, the lack of money forces Adams to hold two other jobs while trying to get her news service off the ground. "When I first started out, that's when I got my first big rush of clients. Now I have to go back and try and get more. It's a building process. The more I work on it the better the product gets and the easier it is to pick up clients."

Capitol News Service also attempts to concentrate on stories that are routinely overlooked by major newspaper bureaus in Sacramento but are of particular interest to its own clients, several dozen smaller newspapers in the state. While Goldberg estimates the number of CNS clients as "around 200 when we're in good shape," others not affiliated with the service say there are fewer.

The news service produces a daily report which routinely consists of about four stories, a column called "Affairs of State," and "Dateline Sacramento," a summary of major action in the Legislature. Most of its clients receive the service by mail but, according to Goldberg, there is a growing move toward faster methods of transmission. Even now some clients are able to take the copy by direct computer transmission, and the service is hoping to explore transmission by satellite.

"Basically, I think mail for the small papers is still the most economical," said Goldberg. "To keep the prices down on small papers, you're almost always going to have to do that."

Goldberg said the number of clients subscribing to independents such as CNS — and the number of Capitol bureaus maintained by newspapers and broadcast stations on their own — may be directly related to interest in Sacramento news.

"Right now there seems to be a tremendous effort to do local news," and therefore there are fewer reporters in Sacramento than there were 10 years ago, he said.

Kline maintains that CNS is fiercely independent in its Capitol coverage. "We cover Sacramento more as foreign correspondents rather than covering a company town," he said. "It is very difficult to be assigned to Sacramento or Washington or the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors and not become one of the boys, or girls, as the case may be," he said.

"Covering Sacramento, you eat together, you sleep together and before you know it, you become defensive," Kline said. "I see Capitol coverage, both in Washington and Sacramento, where people start covering inside. They cover stuff I couldn't care less about, or anybody else."

CNS reporters are told to look for the stories no one else has, he insisted. "Pack journalism is the biggest weakness up here," Goldberg said. "I could sit here in the Capitol and never follow any other reporter. And that's the way we operate, by the way. We look for the way everybody else goes and we run the other way."

With relish, he recalled a story of one Friday afternoon during the administration of former Governor Jerry Brown. The governor was talking to several reporters, including representatives from both major wire services and a local television station.

"I'd been trying for three weeks to try and find out about an appointment of a judge in the north country for one of my small papers. Suddenly Jerry Brown lets slip out that, yes, he

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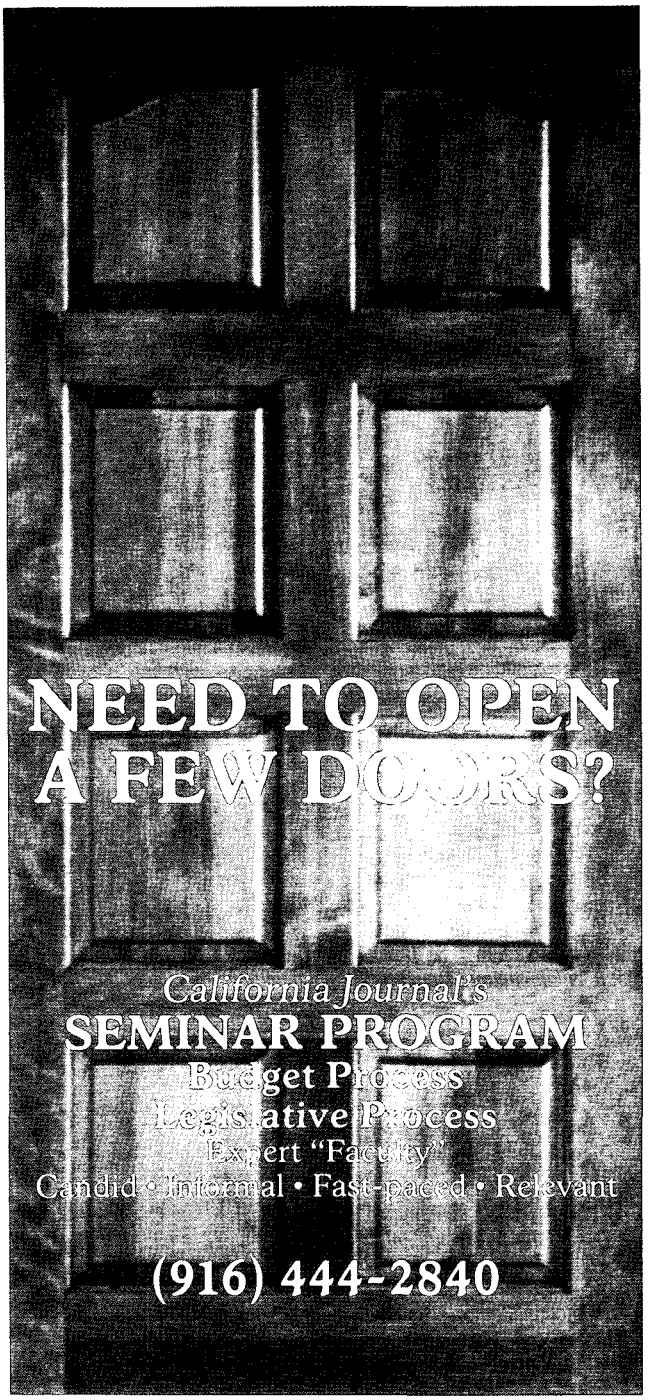

SCHEDULE

Nov. 12	**THE STATE BUDGET** process and politics	Sacramento
Dec. 3	**THE HIDDEN LAWS...** coping with california's regulatory process	Los Angeles
Dec. 4	**DEMYSTIFYING THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS**	Los Angeles

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is a candidate for president. They're going wild asking questions about his presidency and I'm thinking I don't give a good goddamn about his presidency. I keep asking about judges."

For operators of the two television news services now covering the Capitol, it is just the opposite kind of coverage they hope will spell success. Their reports are designed to appeal to the widest possible audience.

Capitol News Feed, whose co-owner is former Sacramento TV reporter Bob Gore, started about a year ago and counts as clients about 11 television stations throughout the state. "It is anything but an alternative," Gore said of the service. "It is the mainstream. Our service is very much the same as a video AP or UPI."

His client stations have at least one thing in common — they don't have the money or the desire to maintain their own bureaus in Sacramento.

"I think more and more television stations will take advantage of the opportunity of covering the Capitol as it becomes more accessible and affordable," said Gore. "The cost is prohibitive to be here unless you can provide that same material to a multitude of stations." Gore estimates it costs $250,000 a year to maintain a full-time television bureau in Sacramento.

The service transmits by satellite every afternoon and tries to include at least five stories per day. There are seven people on staff.

Gore said the investment in a television news service is many times greater than what might be required for a print news service, but said happily, "We will turn a profit by the end of this year, after only 18 months. We went into this knowing we would not be profitable for at least two years, and maybe even three years."

Besides the basic report, the television service is also available to clients for special requests, such as live satellite hook-ups with particular legislators.

The service, according to its news director Rick Leonard, is therefore able to perform a dual function. "The stations that have reporters in town or in the Capitol tend to pursue issues that are of local interest to their particular market whereas what we do is of broader general interest to virtually any city," Leonard said.

His new competitor, Northern California News Satellite, has taken a slightly different approach. While it provides coverage of the Capitol, it covers general news events in Northern California as well, and offers stories on a one-time purchase such as on-scene reports of this summer's rash of forest fires.

Northern California News Satellite started at the end of June, with some of its first employees defectors from Capitol News Feed. Marketing Director Rick Hardesty said the key to its operation was a large capital investment, which he said was more than $1 million.

By the end of the year, he hopes to have 11 client television stations. There are three now.

The need of television stations outside of Sacramento was easy to understand, he said, quoting one news director who told him, "I know our Capitol coverage is horrible but we can't afford it."

"By being an independent satellite news-gathering operation with some of the most advanced equipment available, and by having a fully-equipped satellite news-gathering truck, it gives us a great deal of flexibility in covering a lot of stories, not only within the Capitol and political affairs but also in special breaking news stories that may come within a 100-mile or 150-mile radius," Hardesty said.

The service averages about 80 stories a month, according to Hardesty, of which about 55 percent are legislative or political in nature.

Being an independent "means that we will basically bend over backwards to cater to the specific needs of our affiliates," he said. "Our only reason for existence is to provide very specialized coverage to a lot of different entities, and special orders don't upset us."

Specialized needs and interests spawned another form of political coverage in California, the political "insider" newsletter. Southern California political writer Joe Scott has two — *Political Animal* and *California Eye* — besides his syndicated column.

And last year Lembke, a former reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* and publicist for Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Los Angeles, started his Sacramento-based newsletter, *Political Pulse*.

"I aim it at a wide audience of political junkies," said Lembke, who said his subscribers include journalists, campaign consultants, legislative staffers and public relations firms.

Lembke said his "biggest coup" was his report earlier this year that the late state Treasurer Jesse Unruh was suffering from bone cancer. He scooped all the major newspaper and broadcast reporters in Sacramento. And while government officials emphatically denied his report at the time, Unruh died some months later of cancer.

Soon the Legislature may become a party to another type of Capitol coverage. For years both the Senate and Assembly have used public funds to pay for individual legislators' newsletters to their constitutents and radio feeds to hometown stations providing their up-to-date opinions on issues of the day. Now the Legislature is looking at using video in its efforts to reach the hometown media.

Senator Henry Mello, a Watsonville Democrat and member of the powerful Senate Rules Committee, has been exploring the idea of establishing a television studio available to senators who want to get on the evening news back home. That concept has grown to a proposal for a service similar to C-Span, which provides uninterrupted video coverage of congressional action in Washington.

Lee Nichols, a mass communications professor at California State University, Sacramento, has been working on the idea and hopes to see it reach the cable TV channels in 1989. "A lot of the problems that existed before are gone now," he said.

He envisions California's version of C-Span as something called Cal-Span, a service that would not only provide California cable television systems with uninterrupted coverage of legislative floor debates and committee hearings but also offer "in-depth reports on the process."

"If somebody spends an hour or two with Cal-Span, it would be as close as possible as if somebody spent an hour or two in Sacramento," Nichols said.

While the Legislature would pay for the lighting and other necessary equipment in the Capitol — as well as a studio in a legislative office building nearby — other funding for Cal-Span would come from private sources. According to Nichols, that would allow the service to maintain its independence, although he acknowledged that as long as the state was a partner, it would "not be exposé television."

Nor would it seem to cause much concern among the current group of alternative news operations in the Capitol. For most of them, a government-affiliated service would be just one more potential competitor with more money, more people and more visibility.

"So we're a little gadfly," said Goldberg. "That's the nature of our service."

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The One-Cent Solution

Recycling off to a fitful start

By JAMES RICHARDSON

California entered the Age of Recycling Nirvana this fall. Coke cans, beer bottles and plastic jugs all became worth one more penny on October 1st than they were worth on September 30th. The penny could be picked up at neighorhood recycling centers, if you could find one. Little stickers on the sides of the containers said so. Litter is supposed to disappear from the roadside, and there will be one fewer issue for people to fight over with ballot initiatives.

In reality, the arrival of a container-deposit law in California took major political compromises and, once enacted into law, has been slow getting started. Only one-fourth of the 2000 or so required recycling centers were open for business on October 1st, the day consumers could begin redeeming their containers — a priviledge not very many knew they had. Public-opinion polls showed only a scant 8 percent of the adult population was even aware they could get an extra penny for containers.

A month before the start-up, there were no neighborhood recycling centers for major sections of Los Angeles, San Diego, Ventura, Kern and Santa Barbara counties. Several rural counties in the northern reaches of the state had next-to-none. The brand-new state Division of Recycling was scurrying to process forms and fill in the gaps. Californians Against Waste, a consumer-oriented group that was integral to passage of the law, estimated that about half the recycling centers would be opened for business on October 1st, and that gloomy prediction proved overly optimistic.

"There will be centers coming on-line every day," said Kate McGuire, spokeswoman for the Division of Recycling, attempting to put an upbeat face on a fitful start. Many of the centers were bogged down in local zoning permit tangles, hiring and training employees, negotiating with supermarkets over which firm would serve which territory, ordering recycling equipment, and getting approval from reluctant landowners to install it.

Unlike the Lottery, California's deposit law had no model elsewhere to look to for working out the bugs. While other states have adopted strict five-cent deposit laws, California chose an approach that even its most ardent supporters say may not work. The law depends on markets setting up recycling centers so that consumers will get a little bit more than what they paid in deposits. In theory, consumers might make a profit because they will get the one-cent deposit, plus the scrap value of the container.

However, consumers are not likely to see anything more than a penny for some time at the new recycling centers. "They probably won't get the scrap value until sometime later," McGuire says. Start-up costs of recycling centers are likely to absorb the scrap value.

Consumers may never pay the one cent if beverage distributorships remain more or less competitive in California. Beverage distributors pay the one cent into a fund man-

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James Richardson is Capitol bureau chief for the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

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aged by the state. The distributors can pass the penny onto markets, or simply absorb it as a cost of doing business. The beverage and container manufacturers do not pay anything for the deposit fund.

Consumers can redeem their containers at recycling centers, which then sell the containers to scrap processors to get the penny back, plus scrap value. The processors, in turn, file claims with the state deposit fund for the penny. A staff of state auditors is supposed to be checking to ensure the scrap processors are making honest claims.

Rocky opening aside, five companies are well on their way to locking up most of the state's recycling business (see box). Since the law puts the burden on retail markets to provide a recycling depot within a half-mile of big stores, the major grocery chains — Alpha Beta, Safeway, Vons and the like — have chosen to sign contracts with one of five big recycling companies. Many will have recycling centers right in the parking lot.

Under the law, the state was divided into 2743 "convenience zones," representing a half-mile radius around most medium to large markets. The five major recycling companies have locked up at least 2000 of those convenience zones, with the rest left for small operators. Markets in zones without a recycling center by January 1st will be fined $100 a day or be forced to set up their own centers.

Public awareness has lagged far behind the bureaucracy's processing of recycling permit paperwork. A poll conducted by Research and Decisions Corporation of San Francisco found that only 8 percent of the population had any idea that the recycling program would kick in. The cornerstone to the state's publicity program is a series of "public interest" announcements which large beverage companies will pressure local television stations to broadcast. The bottlers will also add seven-second tags inserted onto the end of regular beverage commercials. The markets are putting the state's recycling label on grocery bags and the public can generally look forward to, or groan under, a scaled-down version of the marketing campaign of the sort the Lottery used in its early stages.

Supporters of the deposit program were heartened by one finding in the Research and Decisions' poll. Once told about the one-cent deposit, about 70 percent said they would start recycling. However, a separate marketing study sounded one cautionary note: Those least likely to recycle are non-white, young and live in apartment complexes. Students are not likely to recycle.

Not every container is covered under the deposit law. Ketchup bottles, coffee cans, and Big Mac containers will go right into the trash where they've always gone (or by the roadside). Wine cooler bottles have created the knottiest political thicket. Exempted from the recycling law at the behest of the Gallo wine empire, environmentalists have been fighting ever since to get wine coolers into the program. A bill to add wine coolers to the deposit law remained stalled in the Assembly at the session's yearly recess.

All of this was the brainchild of Assembly Democrat Burt Margolin of Los Angeles. His bill, AB 2020 (one of the large recyclers, 20/20 Recycling Centers, borrowed the bill number in its corporate name) was the end result of Margolin's patient shuttling during the 1986 session between staunch environmentalists, who have long favored a strict five-cent deposit law, and the grocers who have fought to the death every such proposal.

Recycling Companies

The five companies locking up a major market share of the state's recycling market, according to the Division of Recycling:

Name: 20/20 Recycling Centers, Irvine.
Contracts: Safeway, north and south; Raley's; Albertson's; Lucky's north; Savemart; portions of Stater Brothers (shared contract with Reynolds Aluminium)
Number of stores: about 500

Name: Envipco, Newark
Contracts: Jumbo; Lucky's south; Vons; numerous independent markets.
Number of stores: about 430

Name: Mobile Recycling Corporation, Stanton
Contracts: Alpha Beta; Ralph's; numerous independent markets.
Number of stores: about 375

Name: Innovative Recovery, Los Angeles
Contracts: stores affiliated with Independent Grocers Association.
Number of stores: about 150

Name: Pacific Rim, Oakland
Contracts: Valergas Markets; Vals Liquors; Cal Mart; Fiesta Markets; Robertsons; Russell's; Foodmart; Greyson's; Laird's.
Number of stores: about 25.

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Margolin figured the time was finally ripe for a container-deposit law. The Sierra Club and other environmental groups had fought to a standstill in attempting to pass a deposit-law initiative several years ago, and were threatening to do so again. The grocery chains, bottlers and can manufacturers spent a bundle to defeat such measures in California and other states and were not especially thrilled about doing the drill again.

Margolin fashioned a compromise under the premise that California could ease itself into a deposit law. The onus was put on the beverage distributors to make the law work by

Margolin

Floyd

forcing them to pay the deposit — not the stores or the bottlers. If one-cent does not succeed in forcing people to recycle, the deposit will eventually go up to two cents in 1989 and three cents by 1993.

The law sets out an ambitious goal of recycling 65 percent of each type of container by December 31, 1989. If the goal is unmet, then the two-cent deposit kicks in for that type of container. Experts generally believe cans will meet the goal — half of the state's households already recycle cans — but bottles and plastic containers may not make the mark. Only about 15 percent of the state's households recycle glass while only one in 100 recycle plastic. If only half the state's bottles are recycled come New Year's 1989, for example, then consumers may find themselves paying an extra two cents for for a bottle of beer to cure their hangover on New Year's Day.

Margolin predicted the deposit law would go a long way toward easing the crush of trash funneling into burgeoning landfills, preventing litter by the roadside and even prove a windfall for the Boy Scouts of America. "You'll see organized, charitable drives to pick up containers like never before," he said.

Margolin's carefully crafted bill was greeted with plaudits in the Legislature. "California is a beautiful state," gushed Senator Rebecca Morgan, Republican of Los Altos. "This bill has an exciting potential for helping all of us in California to keep our state clean and minimize the waste of our natural resources."

But not everyone was so enthusiastic. Cantankerous Assemblyman Richard Floyd, Democrat of Lawndale, found no redeeming value at all in the bill. "This is not a deposit measure; this is a tax measure and a terrible inconvenience on the consumers of California," Floyd said, predicting rats would take over dirty parking lot recycling centers and taking a swipe at his colleagues. "These old hippies who are now limousine liberals ain't going to throw theirs away."

Margolin has said the deposit law that went into effect this fall may only be the first step. "I wouldn't say it's untouchable," he said.

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures must be submitted by November 19, 1987, for any measure to qualify for the June 1988 ballot.

New in circulation:

LIMITS ON TORT CLAIMS AND ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gene Livingston and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento, that limits attorney contingency fees for tort claim recoveries, reduces some recoveries by net amount of benefits received from collateral sources like health insurance, and requires proof beyond reasonable doubt for punitive damages. It further limits the liability of manufacturers and sellers of products having "inherent and recognizeable, unsafe aspects," as well as limits the liability of volunteer directors of nonprofit and public-service corporations. This measure is not being pursued by its sponsors because of compromise legislation on tort reform that passed the California Legislature during the final days of the 1987 session and was signed into law by Governor Deukmejian during the first week of October. The same sponsors have another, similar measure already in circulation (see October 1987 *CJ*). (February 16, 1988).

Continuing in circulation:

WILDLIFE, COASTAL, AND PARK LAND CONSERVATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Californians for Parks & Wildlife. (November 19, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Brian Lantz and Khusro Ghandi of Livermore. This proposal is sponsored by proponents of, and is similar to, Proposition 64, which was defeated during the November 1986 election. (November 19, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

OCEAN NET FISHING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kenneth Kukuda of Santa Ana. (November 27, 1987; August 1987 *CJ*)

LEGISLATIVE OFFICES AND CAMPAIGN FUNDS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles and Don Floyd of San Diego. (December 14, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*).

LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Secretary of State March Fong Eu. This is the so-called "Dimes against Crime" initiative. (December 18, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*).

PROPOSITIONS. YEAR ROUND VOTING. PROXY VOTING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Matt Dillon of Sacramento. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*).

INCOME TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Paul McCauley of Los Angeles. (December 21, 1987; September 1987 *CJ*).

TRANSPORTATION REVENUE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (January 7, 1988; September 1987 *CJ*).

CAMPAIGN FUNDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, Democratic state Senator Joseph Montoya of Whittier and Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton (January 8, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

TORT CLAIMS, LIMITS ON ATTORNEY FEES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Gene Livingston of Davis and former Deukmejian cabinet official Kirk West of Sacramento (January 11, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

STATE INCOME TAX REBATE — an initiative statute, sponosred by Republican Assemblymen Tom McClintock of Newbury Park and Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia and Republican state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield (January 15, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

STATE AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

APPROPRIATIONS LIMIT ADJUSTMENT — an initiative constitutional amendment, also sponsored by a coalition of the League of Women Voters, California Teachers Association and Peace Officers Research Association of California (January 21, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

CAMPAIGN FINANCING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Thomas of Bakersfield and former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford of Solana Beach (January 29, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

APPROPRIATION LIMIT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael (February 1, 1988; October 1987 *CJ*).

Failed to qualify:

STREETS AND HIGHWAY FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael and Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. This measure would have funneled all net revenues from state sales and use taxes on motor vehicle fuels into planning, construction, improvement, maintenance and operation of the state's public roadways. These revenues would have been designated as "user fees" and made exempt from Proposition 4 spending limits. Sponsors did not actively pursue signature-gathering for this initiative.

FAMILIES — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Stephen Konnoff of Sacramento. This measure would have provided that families have the right to be free from government intrusion, and that parents have the right to raise their children according to their own beliefs and to joint and equal legal and physical custody.

Source: secretary of state's office

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ROLL CALL

INCOME TAXES
AB 53 (Klehs) Would revise the current progressive income tax rates. It is estimated that 71 percent of California families would see a reduction in their income taxes, while the remaining 29 percent (primarily middle to upper-income households) would see an income tax increase due to reduced deductions, shelters, and loopholes. Passed the Senate September 10th, 23-10. Passed the Assembly September 10th, 61-16. Chaptered.

SAFE DRINKING WATER
AB 859 (Sher) Would enact the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1987 and require the Department of Health Services to adopt public health levels and primary drinking water standards in accordance with specified criteria. Passed the Senate September 8th, 21-8. Passed the Assembly September 10th, 42-35. Vetoed.

PARENTAL CONSENT
AB 2274 (Frazee) Would provide that an abortion may not be performed on an unmarried minor without written consent from her parent or guardian. Exceptions include medical emergencies and permission from a juvenile court. Passed the Assembly June 25th, 46-28. Passed the Senate September 10th, 25-11. Chaptered.

CONSUMER CREDIT
AB 2575 (Calderon) Would extend until 1991 the date when existing provisions allowing for a 19.2 percent interest rate on store credit cards would be repealed. Calderon argues that, at a lower interest rate, stores would not extend credit to many customers who can't get it elsewhere. Passed the Senate September 8th, 23- 3. Passed the Assembly September 11th, 56-13. Vetoed.

LIABILITY LIMITATION
SB 241 (Lockyer) Would exempt from liability the manufacturers and merchants of certain common consumer items (such as alcohol or tobacco) known by the ordinary consumer to be unsafe. This bill would also regulate lawyer's fees in medical malpractice cases and toughen legal standards for imposing punitive damages. Passed the Assembly September 11th, 63-10. Passed the Senate September 11th, 25-1. Chaptered.

BANK AND CORPORATE TAXES
SB 572 (Garamendi) Would make changes to existing tax credits available to banks and corporations, repealing certain credits at the end of 1991 or 1992 and establishing new tax credits related to low income housing. Passed the Assembly September 10th, 53-23. Passed the Senate September 10th, 23-12. Chaptered.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 53	AB 859	AB 2274	AB 2575	SB 241	SB 572
Alquist	•	Y	N	Y	•	Y
Ayala	Y	•	Y	•	Y	N
Boatwright	N	Y	Y	Y	•	N
Deddeh	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dills	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Garamendi	Y	•	•	•	Y	Y
C. Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
B. Greene	Y	Y	•	•	•	•
L. Greene	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hart	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Keene	Y	•	N	Y	Y	Y
Lockyer	Y	•	•	•	Y	Y
Marks	Y	Y	N	•	Y	Y
McCorquodale	•	Y	N	•	Y	Y
Mello	Y	Y	Y	•	•	Y
Montoya	•	•	Y	•	Y	•
Petris	Y	Y	N	N	•	N
Presley	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Robbins	N	Y	•	Y	•	Y
Roberti	Y	Y	Y	•	Y	Y
Rosenthal	•	Y	N	N	Y	N
Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vuich	N	•	Y	Y	Y	N
Watson	Y	Y	N	•	•	N

Republicans	AB 53	AB 859	AB 2274	AB 2575	SB 241	SB 572
Bergeson	N	•	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beverly	Y	•	Y	•	Y	Y
W. Campbell	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y
Craven	N	Y	Y	Y	•	•
Davis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Doolittle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ellis	•	N	Y	Y	•	•
Maddy	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Morgan	Y	•	N	Y	•	Y
Nielsen	•	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Richardson	•	N	Y	•	•	•
Rogers	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Royce	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Russell	N	•	Y	•	•	Y
Seymour	N	•	Y	•	Y	N

Independent

Kopp	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 53	AB 859	AB 2274	AB 2575	SB 241	SB 572
Agnos	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Areias	Y	Y	Y	N	•	Y
Bane	•	Y	•	•	Y	•
Bates	Y	Y	N	•	N	N
Bronzan	Y	Y	•	•	Y	Y
W. Brown	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Calderon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
R. Campbell	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Chacon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Clute	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Condit	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Connelly	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Cortese	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costa	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Eastin	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Eaves	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Elder	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Farr	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Floyd	•	Y	•	•	Y	•
Friedman	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Hannigan	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Harris	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Hauser	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hayden	Y	•	N	•	N	Y
Hughes	Y	Y	N	Y	•	Y
Isenberg	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Johnston	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Katz	Y	Y	N	•	Y	Y
Killea	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Klehs	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Margolin	Y	Y	N	•	N	•
Moore	Y	Y	N	Y	•	Y
O'Connell	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Peace	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Polanco	Y	Y	N	•	N	Y
Roos	Y	Y	N	Y	•	Y
Roybal-Allard	Y	Y	N	N	•	Y
Sher	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Speier	Y	Y	N	N	•	Y
Tanner	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Tucker	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Vasconcellos	Y	Y	•	•	•	Y
M. Waters	Y	Y	N	•	N	N
N. Waters	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

Republicans	AB 53	AB 859	AB 2274	AB 2575	SB 241	SB 572
Allen	N	•	Y	Y	Y	N
Bader	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Baker	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bradley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
D. Brown	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Chandler	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duplissea	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Felando	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ferguson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Filante	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Frazee	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Frizzelle	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Grisham	Y	•	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hansen	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harvey	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hill	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Johnson	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jones	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kelley	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
LaFollette	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Lancaster	N	N	Y	•	Y	N
Leonard	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Leslie	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Longshore	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
McClintock	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mojonnier	N	N	•	Y	Y	N
Mountjoy	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Nolan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Quackenbush	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seastrand	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Statham	N	N	•	Y	Y	N
Stirling	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Wyman	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Zeltner	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	•

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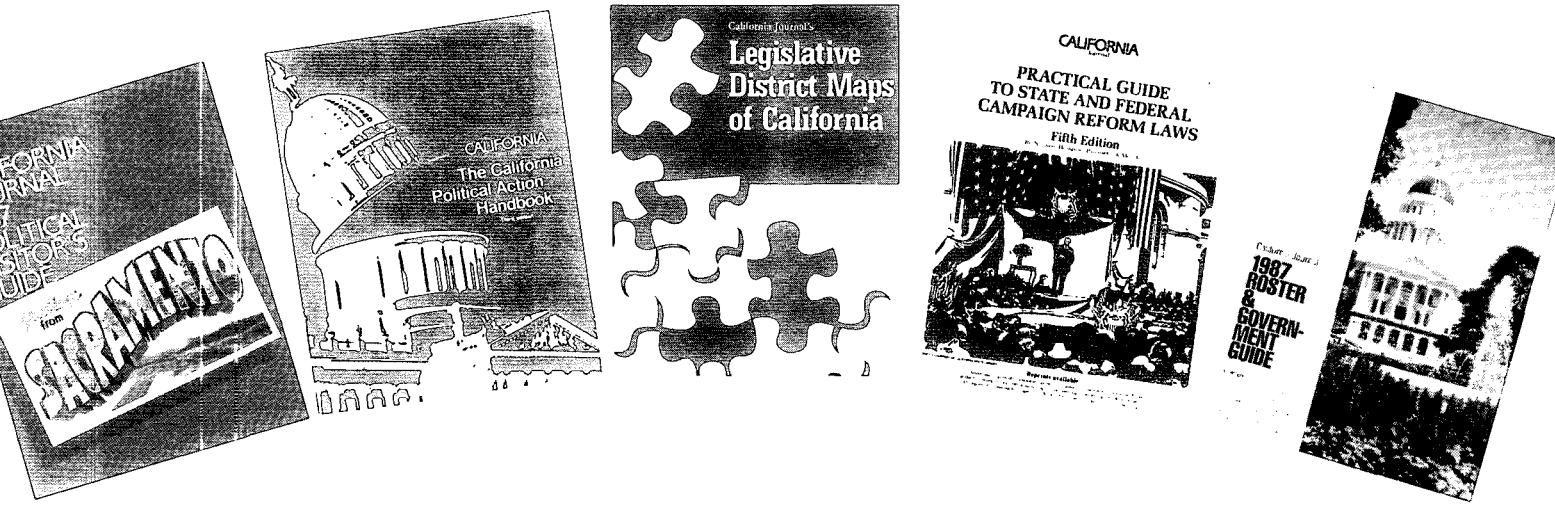

Roster & Government Guide, 1987, contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government; a list of state agencies, a legislative-process chart and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet: 100 or more copies, 33¢ each; 50-99 copies, 48¢ each; 2-49 copies, 85¢ each; single copy, $1.50.

Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Reform Laws by *Nielsen, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller.* This 16-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, explains the myriad new campaign reform laws. The 1986 edition reflects the most recent changes in the law. Copies are: 100 or more, 54¢ each; 50-99 copies, 74¢ each; 2-49 copies, 95¢ each; single copy, $1.95.

Legislative District Maps of California. Description of every Assembly, state Senate and Congressional district in California, including registration data and 10 maps. Also includes a brief history of reapportionment for the decade of the '80s. Price for this 8 ½ x 11" , 16-page booklet: $1.50 ea.; 2-9 copies, 95¢ ea.; 10-49 copies, 75¢ ea.; 50 or more copies, 50¢ ea.

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Bird and Bork

To most of the nation, the furor over President Ronald Reagan's nomination of Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court must have seemed a new, sometimes bewildering, debate over the role of politics in selecting Supreme Court justices.

CONSERVATIVE BACKERS OF BORK sternly warned that liberals risked dragging the Court into the political gutter by opposing an otherwise qualified nominee on the basis of his philosophical viewpoint.

As the *New York Times* summarized this pitch on September 28th: "Bork supporters suggested that this extreme politicization of the confirmation process could not only undermine the Court's majesty as a bastion of principle, above the political fray... It might also, they say, impoverish American jurisprudence by preventing confirmation of bold, probing thinkers who dare to question orthodoxy or to offend powerful interest groups."

For Californians, however, this debate over politics and the high Court must have evoked a strange, distorted sense of *deja vu*. Only a year ago, it was the liberal backers of Chief Justice Rose Bird who just as sternly warned voters that they would drag the state Supreme Court into the political gutter if they rejected the reconfirmation of an otherwise qualified judge on the basis of conservative attacks on her philosophical viewpoint.

Bird summarized her case for judicial independence in an interview with the *Peninsula Times Tribune* in October 1985 saying: "I don't see my role as getting up in the morning and reading the polls and trying to decide what I've got to do to turn it around. My role isn't to be popular. My role is to be just and follow the law, and sometimes that is going to make me unpopular."

Of course, that argument was far from persuasive to the overwhelming majority of California voters, who unceremoniously dumped Bird and Justices Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin from the state Court in the November 1986 election.

Some of the very same interest groups that attacked Bird last year as being soft on the death penalty ended up defending Bork this year against what they portrayed as narrow, interest-group attacks. And the same groups that defended Bird against political "litmus tests" denounced Bork for unacceptable views on civil liberties and civil rights.

One leading liberal strategist in the anti-Bork campaign scoffed that all the fretting over politicizing the Court was merely predictable rhetoric, whether it was invoked by defenders of Bird or Bork. "The losing side always falls back on the threat that things will be politicized," she said.

In-depth polling, conducted for the anti-Bork forces to help them design their strategy, found that voters were cynical about the very idea that courts are "non-political." "People figure politics is how the system works," said the anti-Bork strategist. "They figure you get to be a judge in the first place because you know someone, because a politician owes you a favor." That suspicion presumably applied just as much to Bird, a crony of former Governor Jerry Brown, as to Bork, a philosophical buddy of Reagan and Attorney General Ed Meese.

Yet the battles over Bird and Bork may have only worsened this public cynicism toward the courts and deepened the suspicion that judges are political creatures who rule by personal prejudice rather than by some higher, more objective standard.

For all the similarities of their predicaments, Bird and Bork took directly opposite approaches to the problem of explaining how their personal views shaped their judicial performance. Bird, who had only a scanty record of public pronouncements concerning her personal opinions, steadfastly proclaimed those views as irrelevant to the public debate over her judicial performance. In particular, she refused to discuss her personal opinions about the morality of capital punishment. Despite her votes to overturn death-penalty cases on one procedural ground after another, she insisted she would do her duty to uphold a verdict of death whenever a constitutionally proper one came along.

By contrast, Bork expounded in robust detail before the Senate Judiciary Committee — and on national television — about his voluminous, provocative legal writings and teachings. As he struggled to minimize or explain away some of his most strident views, the former law professor confessed repeatedly that his lifelong efforts to construct grand legal theories had collapsed under the weight of reality.

Here was the man Reagan had offered as the most brilliant prophet of "judicial restraint." Yet Bork scurried through philosophical mazes of his own construction as he retraced his oft-shifting interpretation of what might have been meant by the authors of the Constitution and attempted to reassure jittery senators that even decisions he found indefensible should be left in place once they became part of the national fabric.

The Supreme Court's mandate will always be as fragile as it is precious. Nowhere in the Constitution, its source of power, is there any mention of the Court's fundamental role as the grand referee of which actions may be taken by the executive and legislative branches.

IN THIS ELECTION SEASON, the most conservative Republican presidential candidate, evangelist Pat Robertson, has challenged the Supreme Court's right to serve as that role of arbiter. Supreme Court decisions, he has argued, are not binding.

Battles like the ones over Bird and Bork can only increase such doubts among the public. It's a fair bet that many Americans couldn't name a judge whose fairness and neutrality they trust — with the possible exception of Judge Wapner on television's "People's Court."

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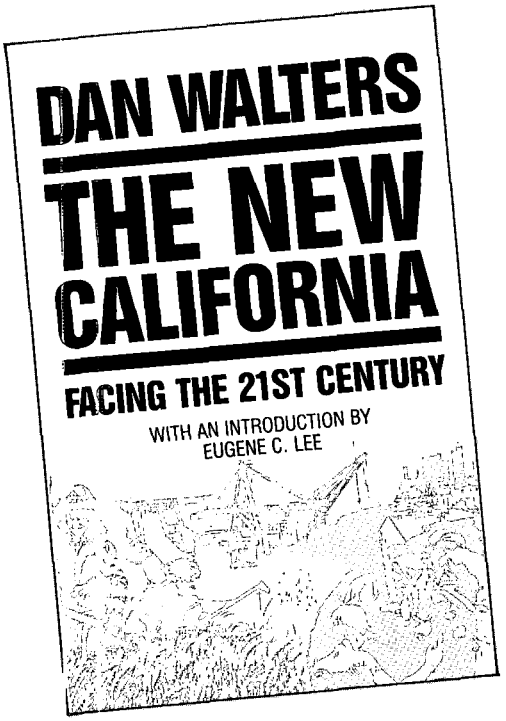
BOOKS FROM CALIFORNIA JOURNAL



The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series is now available in book form. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

Guide to Government *by League of Women Voters.* This 13th quadrennial edition is a comprehensive guide to the structure and functions of government in California, containing sections on the Constitution, citizen participation, the three branches of government, the five state agencies and boards and commissions, education, local government and the budget. The 173-page book contains information through 1985. **Special Discount:** the regular list price is $8.95 but *California Journal* readers may purchase the book for $7.95.

California's Legislature *by James Driscoll.* This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the Capitol building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6x9″, 256 pages, paperbound, $3.95.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9″, 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1987-88. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. The book also includes a "Quick Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11″, 128 pages. $5.95 paper.

California Public Administration *by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman.* First published in 1978, this book has become a basic resource for students of California's system of government and for individuals who want to learn about the inner workings of the state bureaucracy. This second edition contains a large new section on the California tax revolt and the impact of Proposition 13. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11″, 112 pages, $4.95 paper.

The California Oath Controversy *by David P. Gardner.* The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hard cover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50. New discount price: $4.95.

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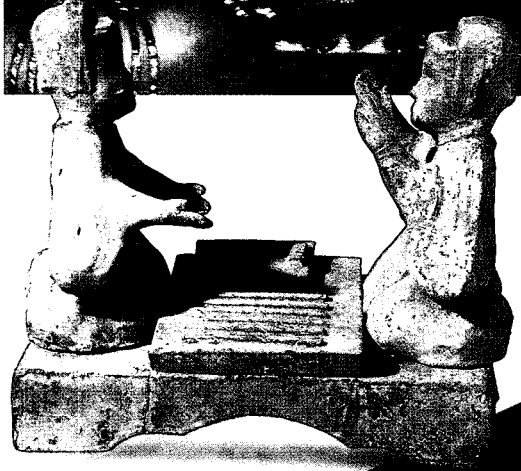
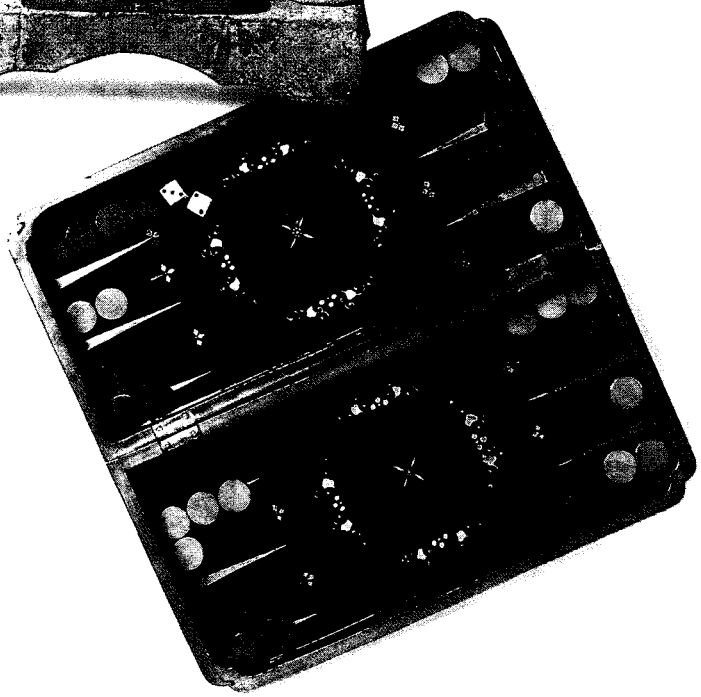
"Le jeu de Trictrac" by Cornelius de Vos zugeschrieben (1583-1651). Museum Adeville. Chinese terra-cotta figures of the Han dynasty, recently discovered in a second century tomb. Backgammon board of 1820, product of the China trade. Providence Preservation Society. Providence, Rhode Island.





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